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ILLUSTRATIONS

OF

ANGLO-SAXON POETRY.

BY

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EDITED,

TOGETHER WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES, INTRODUCTORY NOTICES, &c.,

BY HIS BROTHER

WILLIAM DANIEL CONYBEARE, M.A., &c.

RECTOR OF SULLY.

66564

Of Gothic structure was the Northern side,
O'erwrought with ornaments of barbarous pride:
There huge Colosses rose with trophies crown'd,
And Runic characters were grav'd around.
There on huge iron columns, smear'd with blood,
The horrid forms of Scythian heroes stood;
Minstrels and Scalds (their once loud harps unstrung),
And youths that died, to be by Poets sung.

Temple of Fame.

J. d 13

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PREFATORY NOTICE.

IT appears desirable to the Editor of the following work to explain in a few words the circumstances which have led to its publication in the present form. The attention of the late Author had long been directed to the illustration of the early history of English Poetry; and his appointment to the professorship of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Oxford in the year 1809, naturally rendered the metrical remains extant in that ancient language objects of his more particular investigation. The origin of the present volume is to be found in the Terminal Lectures which, in virtue of that office, he was called upon to deliver: in whatever degree therefore it may be considered as forming a valuable accession to this branch of letters, it will afford an additional proof of the tendency of our Academical Institutions to cherish an enlarged spirit of literary inquiry on subjects far remote from those peculiar studies, which their opponents have erroneously and injuriously represented as forming the sole objects of a system stigmatized,—with little practical knowledge of its true nature or results,—as narrow, illiberal, and exclusive.

In preparing his materials for these lectures, the Au-

thor was not contented merely to avail himself of the documents already rendered accessible through the medium of the press by his predecessors in the same path of investigation; but devoted much time to an examination of the Manuscript stores of the Bodleian and Cottonian libraries, and more than once visited Exeter for the express purpose of consulting the valuable collection of Saxon poetry bequeathed to the library of that cathedral by Bishop Leofric. Some detached portions of the original matter thus collected, were from time to time communicated to the public through the channel of the *Archæologia*, *British Bibliographer*, &c.

The pursuits thus fostered by the tenour and opportunities of Academical life were in 1812 exchanged for clerical duties in a country village. These duties, and the theological studies connected with them, now engrossed, as they justly claimed, his chief attention; and engagements merely literary or scientific were henceforth less pursued, than indulged in as affording that *change of occupation* which to active minds is *rest*, especially where early habits and languid physical powers indispose for more healthful relaxation. Under these circumstances, to which was added a less easy access to our public libraries than had hitherto been enjoyed, the further prosecution of these favourite researches was long suspended: nor was it again resumed, otherwise than in the hope of rendering subservient to a purpose of parochial usefulness[1] the profits which might be expected to accrue from

[1] The object in question was the erection of a village school. Proposals for publishing by subscription, in aid of that object, "Illustrations

the publication of a work, obviously calculated to supply a desideratum of no inconsiderable importance in the history of the poetical antiquities of our language. In this view, the task of enlarging and methodizing his materials was recommenced with much ardour: but many delays intervened, and the object alluded to had been accomplished from the Author's private resources, before

---

of the early History of English and French Poetry," were circulated in the autumn of 1817, and an advertisement explaining in detail the contents of the proposed work inserted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August in that year. It was originally intended to have included not only the Saxon specimens now printed, but other unpublished materials connected with the earliest period of English poetry, and that of the Norman-French school.

If any one should consider the mention of the circumstances above noticed as devoid of public interest, and therefore standing in need of apology, that apology must be found in the feelings of the Editor, which induce him to dwell with peculiar satisfaction on such recollections of the spirit in which the late Author regarded the obligations of his profession, and endeavoured to render even these relaxations of his leisure hours subordinate to the higher purposes which they enforce. Under the same influence the Editor cannot refrain from subjoining a private memorandum relating to the present work, which is very characteristic of this habitual bias of the writer's mind:—it refers to the completion of the Analysis, &c. of the poem of Beowulf for the press. "*Tandem (Deo tempus, copiam ac salutem sufficiente) labor in hunc librum impendendus (opere scilicet integro diligenter perlecto, compendio ejus Anglicè exarato, particulisque quamplurimis metricè, ad verbum quâ fieri potuit, redditis) absolutus est, exeunte mense Octobris A. S. H.* 1820.

Σοὶ χάρις ὃς πάντων μεδέεις, καὶ πάντα θεωρεῖς·
Ἀλλὰ Σὺ δὸς μ' ἀπὸ τοῦδ' ὁσίωτερ' ἐπ' ἔργα τρέπεσθαι."

It cannot surely be destitute of usefulness to exhibit the consistent homage of a powerful mind to religious truth in the unsuspected moments of its privacy.

the first sheets were forwarded to the press. The design therefore of a publication by subscription was abandoned: but the work so undertaken was allowed to proceed, though very gradually, and only as the occasional amusement of leisure hours. Other causes of procrastination, not resting with the Author himself, arose from the peculiar impediments attending on the typographical details of a publication like the present; and from the united operation of these, he had at the time of his sudden decease only corrected the proofs as far as page 80, and left in a state of complete preparation for the press the transcript of that portion of the work which extends to page 163. The task of publication thus devolved on the present Editor, who had for this purpose to arrange the detached communications to the *Archæologia* and the MS. materials already alluded to; incorporating them in their proper relative situations, according to his conception of the original design, and supplying such connecting and illustrative matter as appeared requisite to the end in view. The manner in which he has endeavoured to execute this office will be found more fully explained in the Advertisements to the Introductory Essay and the Appendix. Of the merits of a work proceeding from a relative to whom he was bound by so many ties, it is not for him to speak: and the difficulty of doing so must be increased when the "*sacra et major imago*" of the departed is seen invested with a peculiar character of sacredness, and magnified in all its proportions, through the mists of the valley of the shadow of death.

CONTENTS.

N. B. *The articles in italics have been added by the Editor.*

I. Introductory Essay on the Metre of Anglo-Saxon Poetry.

Advertisement to Essay ..... *page* iii

First Communication to Antiquarian Society [reprinted from *Archæologia*, vol. xvii.] v

Riming Poem, referred to in that Communication xvi

Second Communication to Antiquarian Society, [reprinted from *Archæologia*, vol. xvii.] xxvii

Recapitulation of Metrical Laws xxxvi

Comparative View of Icelandic and Ancient Teutonic Metres ... xxxix

On the Alliterative Metres of the Celtic Nations lvii

On the Derivation of the later English Alliterative Metres lxv

II. *Arranged Catalogue of all the extant remains of Anglo-Saxon Poetry, with some specimens not noticed in the body of the work, particularly the Poem on the Death of Byrhtnoth.* lxxv

III. Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry, as completed for the press during the Author's life.

1. Hymns of Cædmon and of Bede ..... *page* 3
2. Song of the Traveller 9
3. Beowulf. *(Analysis and Metrical Versions of)* 30
   Original Text 82
   Various readings 137
   Notes 167

IV. Appendix; consisting of materials (not arranged during the Author's life) but intended for the work, and in part previously published in vol. xvii. of the *Archæologia*, &c.

Advertisement ..... *page* 171

I. Battle of Finsborough.

Introductory Notice 173

Poem [as published in the *British Bibliographer*, vol. iv.] 175

II. Specimens from the Junian Cædmon.

Introductory Notice 183

1. Speech of Satan [reprinted from the notes to *Octavian*[1]] 190

2. Deluge [from *Archæologia*, vol. xvii.] 193

3. Overthrow of the Egyptians in the Red Sea [from notes to *Octavian*] 195

III. Specimens from the Exeter Manuscript.

Introductory Notice 198

1. On the Day of Judgement [from MS. Lectures] .. 214

2. Hymn of Thanksgiving [*Archæologia*, vol. xvii.] ... 217

3. Phœnix [*Archæologia*, vol. xvii.] 224

4. Gnomic Poem [from MS. Lectures] 228

5. Soul's Complaint [*Archæologia*, vol. xvii.] 232

6. Scaldic Poem [from the Author's MS.] 235

7. *Exile's Complaint* 244

8. The Ruined Wall-stone [from the Author's MS.] . 249

IV. Ælfredian Version of Boethius [from MS. Lectures].

Introductory Notice 256

1st Metre. 1st book 260

4th Metre. 2nd book 262

9th Metre. 3rd book 265

V. Norman-Saxon Poem on Death [*Archæologia*, vol. xvii.] .. 270

Corrigenda & Addenda (including historical notes on the Traveller and on Beowulf) 275

[1] "An Analysis of the Norman Metrical Romance of Octavian," of which a limited impression for private distribution was printed by the late Author.

INTRODUCTORY ESSAY

ON

THE METRE

OF

ANGLO-SAXON POETRY.

INTRODUCTORY ESSAY

ON

THE METRE OF ANGLO-SAXON POETRY.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IT was the intention of the late Author of these Illustrations to have prefixed to them an Introductory Essay on the Metre of the Anglo-Saxon Poetry, in which it was designed to have remodelled the substance of some earlier communications on the same subject to the Society of Antiquaries, and to have extended them by a comparative survey of the kindred systems of the most ancient Icelandic and Teutonic metres. No progress, however, appears to have been made in the execution of this plan at the time when his hand was so suddenly arrested by death, beyond a rough draft of the general heads under which it was to have been arranged. The present Editor may perhaps in some degree, although in a manner far inferior, be enabled to supply this deficiency; since the study of these relics of our Saxon ancestors was among those joint pursuits in which it was once his

happiness to indulge with that nearest and most valued relative, in earlier or maturer life the guide or associate of all his literary inquiries: he believes himself therefore competent to state, with fidelity at least, the views which it had been intended to illustrate with regard to the several subjects under discussion. In endeavouring to discharge this office, he will first reproduce, in its original form, the Essay in the *Archæologia* above referred to; a document which must always retain a paramount interest, as having first removed, in a clear and satisfactory manner, the obscurity which previously invested this subject. He will then proceed to the other collateral and supplemental topics connected with the inquiry.

The following arrangement of these materials will be adopted:—

I. Essays, by the late Author, published in the *Archæologia:*
   1. First Communication to the Antiquarian Society.
   2. Riming Poem, referred to in that Communication.
   3. Second Communication to the Antiquarian Society.

II. Addenda, by the Editor:
   1. Recapitulation of the General Laws of Saxon Metre.
   2. Comparative View of the Icelandic and ancient Teutonic Metres.
   3. Investigation of the Alliterative Metres of the Celtic Nations.
   4. Observations on the Derivation of the later Alliterative Metres of the English Poets of the Middle Ages from that of the Saxons.

FIRST COMMUNICATION

ON

THE METRE OF ANGLO-SAXON POETRY.

[*From Vol.* xvii. *of the* ARCHÆOLOGIA.]

Read before the Ant. Soc. Feb. 25, 1813.

THE contradictory opinions which our ablest philological antiquaries have advanced with respect to the leading characteristics by which the poetry of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors was distinguished from their prose, will, I trust, plead my excuse for trespassing upon the time of the reader[1], by offering to his attention a few cursory observations on that subject. They are suggested principally by the perusal of two very interesting documents contained in the Exeter Manuscript, many extracts from which will be found in the ensuing pages.

Hickes, indisputably one of the most learned of those who can be said to have examined with a critical eye our Saxon literature, appears perhaps no where to so little advantage as in the pages which he has dedicated to this topic. Influenced by the desire of reducing every thing to some classical standard, a prejudice not uncommon in the age in which he wrote, he endeavours, with greater zeal than success, to show that the writers whom he was

[1] The Editor has substituted in this and other places the phrases appropriated to a published essay for those which in the original alluded to the Society to which the communication was made, and given references to the pages of this volume instead of those to the *Archæologia*.

recommending to the world observed the legitimate rules of Latin prosody, and measured their feet by syllabic quantity. In making so large demands upon the credulity of his readers, he was, though unconsciously, laying the foundation of future scepticism. A later author, Mr. Tyrwhitt, justly celebrated for the success of his critical researches on many subjects connected both with early English and with classical literature, but whose acquaintance with the Anglo-Saxon poetry appears to have been derived principally, if not entirely, from the *Thesaurus* of the illustrious scholar above alluded to,—was the first person who ventured openly to dissent from his authority. Startled by the extravagance of Dr. Hickes's opinions on this subject, and unconvinced by the arguments adduced in their support, he advances into the opposite extreme, declares that he can discover in the productions of our Saxon bards no traces whatever either of a regular metrical system, or even of that alliteration which had hitherto been regarded as their invariable characteristic, and finally professes himself unable to perceive "any difference between the poetry and the prose of that people, further than the employment of a more inflated diction and inverted construction of sentence, in that to which the former title was usually affixed[1]."

It cannot, I trust, be considered as disrespectful to the memory of that accomplished and candid philologist, to suggest that a more careful and patient examination of the question would probably have induced him to withdraw these unqualified and (I cannot but think) inconsiderate assertions. But, in fact, the plan of that work in which he was engaged, relating to the language and versification of a much later period, demanded from him nothing more than a slight and incidental mention of Anglo-Saxon poetry. Had it been otherwise, the humbler efforts of future labourers in that department would probably have been in great measure anticipated, if not rendered wholly unnecessary, by the application of that

[1] See the preface to Tyrwhitt's Chaucer.

critical acuteness and sound judgement which so eminently distinguished the restorer of Chaucer, and the discoverer of Babrias.

But I hasten to the detail of those circumstances which I cannot but think of sufficient force altogether to invalidate the opinion of Mr. Tyrwhitt, and which, unless I am much deceived, are calculated also to remove much of the obscurity in which the previous misapprehensions of Dr. Hickes appear to have enveloped one portion at least of the subject.

As the question of alliteration (which indeed requires but a short notice) will be more conveniently treated of after we shall have ascertained the existence and nature of that metre of which it forms the chief ornament, I shall commence with those topics which are in themselves of the greatest extent and interest, and shall endeavour to show both that the Anglo-Saxon poetry does really differ from their prose by the usage of metrical divisions, and that the general rhythm and cadence of their verse is not altogether undiscoverable.

The former, indeed, of these propositions should seem to require no further evidence than the simple comparison of the different methods of punctuation observable in the prosaic and poetical manuscripts of the Saxons. In the prose we find the single point or dot (equivalent both to our comma and semicolon) but sparingly used. In the poetry, on the contrary, which, being written in continuous lines, it would otherwise be difficult to distinguish from prose, the same mark occurs repeatedly at short intervals, and in places where it evidently cannot be required in its usual function of dividing the sentence into its subordinate clauses[1]. The members thus included will be found (as far as we are capable of judging with respect to the pronunciation of that which we possess as a written language only) to have in general a strong similarity of

[1] Of this the edition of Cædmon, published by the learned Junius, will afford an accurate specimen; as also will the Judith printed at the end of Thwaites's Heptateuch, a book of somewhat more common occurrence.

cadence as well as of length. Should this be deemed inconclusive, the question will, I think, be placed beyond the reach of controversy by the specimens about to be adduced. In both these we shall find the poetry broken into similar members, not only by the usual mode of rhythmical punctuation, but in the one instance by the alternate insertion of lines written in the Latin language, and in the other by the employment of final rime. The former of these (although hitherto overlooked by those who have written upon this subject) is quoted by Humphrey Wanley in his Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, p. 281. It forms the termination of a highly paraphrastic translation of the Phœnix of Lactantius, a short extract from the commencement of which is inserted in the Appendix to this work, p. 224. It is written in lines alternately Anglo-Saxon and Latin, and runs thus:

Hafaƀ us a**L**yfed [1]	*Nos in vitam eduxit*
Lucis auctor	
ƀæt we **M**otun her	*uti possemus hic*
Merueri	
God dædum be**GI**etan	*virtutibus acquirere*
Gaudia in cœlo,	
ƀæt we **M**otun	*uti possemus*
Maxima regna	
Secan, and ge**S**ittan	*acquirere, et sedere*
Sedibus altis,	
Lifgan in **L**isse	*vivere in mansione*
Lucis et pacis,	
Agan **E**ardinga	*possidere habitucula*
Alma lætitiæ	
Brucan **B**læd-daga	*potiri fructu diurno*

[1] The letters on which the alliteration characteristic of Saxon metre depends, are here and in other places of this Introduction distinguished by antique capitals; and to render this distinction more prominent, no capitals are used in the beginning of the lines, except after a full stop, or in proper names.—Ed.

Blandam & mittem,	*blando ét mîli*
ȝe**S**eon **S**igora frean	*adspicere gloriæ Dominum*
Sine fine,	
and him-**L**of sinȝan	*et ei gratîas canere*
Laude perenni	
EAdȝe mid **E**nȝlum,	*felices cum angelis.*
Alleluia.	

It will be immediately perceived, that such of these Latin verses as are at all consonant to the rules of prosody, belong either to the trochaic or dactylic species, and consist each of two feet. Those which are not reducible to this standard seem yet to be written in imitation of it, with the substitution (as was common in the Latin poetry of the middle ages) of emphasis for quantity. Thus "Sine, fine," "Blandam et, mittem," and "Alma læ,titiæ," may be considered respectively as equivalent to a trochaic, an adoniac, and a dactylic line[1]. It is to a metre of this kind, in which emphasis (as

[1] I have thrown into the following note a few more specimens from Wanley's Catalogue, illustrative of the positions suggested in the text. The first and second will afford also an entertaining example of the fondness shown by our Saxon ancestors for introducing into their compositions the few Greek phrases with which they were acquainted.

Ðus me ȝe**S**ette	**E**ncratea
Sanctus & justus	**A**c he **EA**lne sceal
Beorn **B**oca ȝleaw	**Boc**ðia
Bonus auctor	**B**iddan ȝeorne
* * * * * *	ðurh his **M**odes ȝe**M**ind
* * * * * *	**M**icro in cosmo
ne sceal **L**adiȝan	* * * * * *
Labor quem tenet	

(Wanl. Cat. p. 110. ex MS. Coll. Corp. Ch. Cant. K. 12.)

Ðænne ȝe**M**iltsad ðe	abutan ende
Mundum qui reȝit	* * * *
THeoda **TH**rym cyninȝe	saule wine
THronum sedentem	* * * *

ȝeunne

in all the modern languages of Gothic origin) holds the place of quantity, that I would refer the verses of the Anglo-Saxons. They

---

ȝe**U**nne ðe on life[1]	**F**o on **F**ultum
AUctor pacis	**F**actor cosmi[2]
Sibbe ȝe**S**ælðа	* * * *
Salus mundi	Ðær **E**adiȝe
Metod se **M**æra	**A**nimæ sanctæ
Maȝna virtute	**R**ice **R**estat
and se **S**oðfæsta	**E**ȝna cælorum.
Summi filius	

(Wanl. Cat. p. 147. ex MS. Coll. Corp. Ch. Cant. S. 18.)

The last is entirely in Latin, and appears to be an attempt at rime, although the alliteration is, for the most part, preserved. Wanley himself notices its similarity to the Anglo-Saxon metre.

Olim hæc transtuli	*Juva me* **M***iserum*
Sicuti valui,	**M***eritis* **M***odicum.*
Sed modo **P***recibus*	*Caream quo* **N***ævis*
Constrictus **P***lenius,*	*Mihimet* **N***ocuis,*
O **M***artine Sancte*	*Castusque* **V***ivam*
M*eritis præclare*	*Nactus jam* **V***eniam.*

Wanley, p. 189.

Of the substitution of accent or emphasis for quantity, the following wretched lines afford an example, perhaps the more striking, as they are written in imitation of a metre to which we are more accustomed.

Denique composuit pueris hoc stilum rite diversum
Qui Bata Ælfricus Monachus brevissimus.
Qualiter Scholastici valeant resumere fandi
Aliquod initium Latinitatis sibi.

---

[1] It is evident that two alternate Latin lines have here through the negligence of the scribe been omitted; the sense, alliteration, and analogy of the structure prevailing through the whole composition equally requiring them. —Ed.

[2] Here forty lines of similar structure alternately Saxon and Latin have been omitted. The text is often in both languages corrupt. The four lines subjoined form the conclusion.—Ed.

will be found to consist, for the most part, of feet of two or three syllables each, having the emphasis on the first, and analogous therefore to the trochee or dactyl, sometimes perhaps to the spondee, of classic metre.

In the above specimen, the line "Dæt we motun" evidently consists of two trochees, or a spondee and trochee. "Eadge mid Englum," of a dactyl and trochee. "Secan, and gesittan," of three trochees.

This appears to have been the fundamental principle of the Saxon metrical system. Variety was produced, and the labour of versification lessened by the admitting lines of different lengths from two to four feet, and frequently by the addition of a syllable extraordinary, either at the commencement or termination of the verse; a circumstance which we find repeatedly occurring in our own poetry, without any such violation of cadence as to alter the character of the metre. The former license is in Saxon the less common of the two.

I think, however, it may be traced in the following instances.

Du eart, Hæleða, Helm,
And| Heofen, deman,
Engla Ordfruman,
And| EOrðan tuddor[1].

Læton, æfter, beorgan
In| blacum, reafum.
And sæc, fremedon,
And, ðæt ne ge,lyfdon[2].

Bi,folden on, ferðe
Summæg, fingrum, wæl.

---

[1] Cædmon, p. 105. [2] Idem.

The latter, if it is indeed to be regarded as a license of the same kind, and not rather to be referred to another principle, which I shall consider immediately, is much more common. Several instances of it occur in the few lines already quoted. In the following and some similar lines, there appears to be an additional syllable both at the commencement and termination.

Wecеð and, Wreceð
swa| Wildu, deor.

Occasionally lines of three or even two syllables occur; as,

Laðes, spræc.	Almiȝhtne.	
To frofre.	Hwæt ðu eart.	Fah wyrm.
Nu ic ðus.	Mihtum swid.	

In the former of these cases (and perhaps also wherever a syllable extraordinary is to be found at the termination of a line) the emphasis might be so strongly marked as to render it equivalent to two. The latter instance (Fah wyrm) would not offend against the general rhythm.

The following passages from Cædmon will give examples both of the longer and shorter kinds of metre[1].

---

[1] It has been doubted (see Mr. Bosworth's *Saxon Grammar*, p. 247) whether the following extract might not be reduced to lines of the shorter structure by hemistichial division; but two reasons seem conclusive against such an attempt:—1st, the couplets formed by such an arrangement from the 3rd, 7th, 9th and 11th lines as here printed, would be destitute of alliteration:—and 2dly, the same alliteral letter obviously extends to the couplet as formed of the longer lines. To make this clearer, braces have been placed against the alliteral couplets, as the extract begins with the last and ends with the first line of a couplet.—Ed.

Ænne, hæfde he swa, swiðne ȝe,worhtne,
swa, Mihtiȝne, on his, Mod ȝeðohte
he let, hine swa, Micles, wealdan,
Hehstne to, him on, Heofna, rice,
Hæfde he, Hine swa, hwitne ȝe,worhtne,
swa, Wynlic, Wæs his, Wæstm on, heofonum,
ðæt him, com from, Weroda, Drihtne,
ȝe,Lic wæs, he ðam, Leohtum, steorrum,
Lof, sceolde he, Drihtne, wyrcean
Dyran, sceolde he his, Dreamas on, heofonum,
and, sceolde his, Drihtne, ðancian,
ðæs, Lænes, ðe he him, on ðam, Leohte ȝe,scerede.

Cædm. p. 6. l. 14.

Unum creaverat adeo potentem,
adeo præcellentem intellectu,
dederat ei tam ingentem potestatem,
proximam sibi in cælorum regno,
illum adeo lucidum creaverat,
adeo latus fuit fructus ejus (vita) *in cælis,*
qui ad eum venit a supremo Domino,
similis erat lucidis stellis,
gloriæ debuerat Domini inservire,
cara habere debuerat gaudia sua in cælis,
et debuerat Domino suo gratias agere,
pro munere quod ille ei in luce decreverat.

Us is, Riht micel,
ðæt we, Rodera, weard,
Wereda, Wuldor, ciniȝ,
Wordum, herigen,
Modum, lufien,
he is, Mægna sped,
Heafod ealra
Heah ȝesceafta.

Nobis est æquissimum
ut cæli custodem
exercituum, gloriæ-regem,
verbis exaltemus,
animis diligamus:
ille est potentissimus,
princeps omnium
excellentium creaturarum.

I now pass to the second document above alluded to, as calculated to throw some light upon this subject, from the circumstance of its author having superadded the ornament of rime to that of alliteration. This has hitherto escaped the observation of our Saxon scholars. Wanley, indeed, (to whom we are indebted for the only detailed notice of the Exeter Manuscript,) appears to have examined the section in which it is contained with much less than his usual diligence and accuracy.

It will perhaps enable us to appretiate more justly the evidence deducible from the metrical construction of this poem, if we recall what has been said above as to the method of punctuation by which the Anglo-Saxons were accustomed to distinguish their poetry from their prose. The dots or points which they used for this purpose may doubtless, through the negligence of transcribers, have been either omitted, or erroneously inserted. In other instances they may have perished from the injuries of time, weather, and ill usage. Thus the received division of the verse may in many cases become questionable, and any theory grounded upon it be represented as destitute of proof. Against conclusions drawn from the poem in question, it is evident that no such objection can reasonably be advanced.

After a diligent examination, it appears to me that the different species of verse used in this composition may be thus classed:—

1. Those which may at first sight be recognised as trochaic or dactylic: these are by far the most numerous; as,

Glenged, hiwum
Blissa, bleoum
Blostma, hiwum
———
Swiðe ne, minsade

Lisse mid, longum
Leoma ge, tongum
———
Horsce mec, heredon
Hilde ge, neredon.

2. Of the trochaic species, with the hypercatalectic syllable; as,

Ahte ic, ealdor, stol
Galdor, wordum, gol.

Wæs on, laȝu, streame, lad
Ðær me, leoðu, ne bi, ȝlad.

3. Lines of three syllables (similar to those mentioned above); as,

Tīr, welȝade	Ǽrǣt, hafað	Treow, ðraȝ
Blǣd, blissade		Is to, traȝ.

In this poem, and in all the other metrical compositions of the Saxons with which I am acquainted, there are certainly many lines which it is beyond my power to reduce to a strict agreement with this metrical system; but these difficulties are not, I think, of sufficient frequency or cogency to invalidate those conclusions concerning the metre of Anglo-Saxon poetry, which may be drawn from the general tenour of its construction. It is probable, too, that an uncultivated age was not very fastidious as to the precise observation of the rhythmical canons. If the violations of metre were not such as grossly to offend in singing or repetition, they would scarcely demand any higher degree of correctness[1].

[1] The Author has expressed his opinion more fully as to the degree of licence allowable in Anglo-Saxon poetry in the following remarks on the metrical rules laid down in Rask's *Saxon Grammar* (as translated in Mr. Bosworth's Grammar), which essentially agree with the canons four years previously deduced by himself in the above essay, but suppose a more strict and undeviating regularity of observance. They are extracted from a letter to Mr. Bosworth.—"Does not Mr. Rask speak on the whole too much as though he was considering an artificially constructed system of metre? I suspect that the matter lies completely on the surface, and that the good barbarians were content if their verse had rhythm enough to be sung, and alliteration enough to strike the ear at once. The system, if system it may be called, is neither more nor less than that of our old ballads, *in which the ear is satisfied not by the number of syllables, but by the recurrence of the accent, or ictus*, if one may call it so. Southey and Coleridge have made good use of this μετρον αμετρον, and the latter, in one of his prefaces, has, if my memory serves me, philosophized upon its structure."

RIMING POEM.

(*From the Exeter MS. p.* 94.)

THE very extraordinary composition last referred to is here presented to the reader in its entire form, in pursuance of the expressed intention of the late Author. As, however, no progress towards the execution of that intention had been made by him, the task of translation has devolved on the Editor; and it is in this instance a task of no slight difficulty: for the poet, bound by the double fetters of alliteration and rime, has found himself obliged to sacrifice sense to sound, to a more than ordinary extent. The style is throughout figurative, harsh, and elliptical in the highest degree: words occurring in no other Saxon writer; and to be interpreted therefore only through the medium of an uncertain analogy, are frequent; and more common terms are disguised by an unaccustomed variety of spelling. Under these circumstances, it must be still more a subject of regret that the light which the critical acumen of the late accomplished Author might have thrown on this very obscure production has been denied.

To the brief observations on its metrical structure already given, the Editor has only to add the following remarks:—

1. The rime is frequently double: and the poet, not contented with this exhibition of his powers in the accumulation of similar sounds, has in one passage (of nine lines) introduced an additional rime into the body of every line, thus:—

B*ald Ald* ðwiteð
Wræc fæc wriðeð
W*rath ath* smiteð

so that every letter almost is fettered by the absurd intricacy of the metre.

The identical rimes are not confined to the couplet, but extend sometimes to eight or ten lines.

2. The whole style of composition is analogous to the later systems of Scaldic metre introduced about the middle of the ninth century in the place of the more simple versification of the *Edda* and *Voluspa* (which is altogether identical with the usual Saxon metre). It is probable that the knowledge of these more complicated systems was introduced among the Saxon poets in the age of Canute; but they do not appear to have found a favourable reception: the only instance which is extant of a regular imitation of them being that now presented to the reader. The following specimen from the *Hattalykli* (Key of Metre) of Snorro Sturleson will sufficiently evince the identity: it is, I believe, of the species called Ruhnenda.

Lof er flytt forom
Fyrir ȝunnorom
Ne spurd sporom
Spioll ȝram snorom, &c.

(Extracts from the *Hattalykli* published by Mr. Johnstone, p. 48.)

From the difficulties above alluded to, the annexed translation is necessarily of so loose and conjectural a character that the Editor feels some apology requisite for presenting it to the public; but from the great interest of the poem as a metrical relic of so unique a character, he was unwilling to suppress the original: and he conceived that an interpretation which might at least present some clue to the general meaning would be acceptable. The subject appears to be an illustration of the transitory nature of human enjoyments: this is exhibited by describing the same individual as first flourishing in the very acme of pleasure, fame, affluence, and power; and then as a spirit tormented by the fires of purgatory, and a corpse consumed by worms. The conclusion points out the hope of translation, after these purifying pains have accomplished their appointed end, to the joys of heaven.

ME lifes onlah	HE raised me to life
Se ðis leoht onwrah,	Who displayed this light,
And ðæt torhte ȝeteoh	And this bright possession
Tillice onwrah.	Bountifully disclosed.
Glæd wæs ic ȝliwum,	Glad was I in glee,
Glenȝed hiwum,	Adorned with [fair] colours,
Blissa bleoum	With the hues of bliss
Blostma hiwum.	And the tints of blossoms.
Secȝas mec sesȝon	Men would say concerning me
Symbel ne alesȝon	That perpetually I should not desist
Feorh-ȝiefe ȝefesȝon.	To rejoice in the gifts [blessings] [of life.
Frætwed wæȝum	Adorned in its paths
Wic ofer wonȝum,	[Was my] habitation on the earth,
Wennan ȝonȝum	[So that I might] expect in my journeyings
Lisse mid lonȝum	Favour with long
Leoma ȝetonȝum[1];	Dispensations of light [felicity];
Ða wæs wæstmum aweaht	Then was I abounding in fruits
World onspreht,	And flourishing in the world,
Under roderum aweaht	Springing up beneath the heavens
Ræd mæȝne ofer ðealt.	And excelling in the force of [counsel.
Giestas ȝenȝdon,	Guests came,
Ger-scype[2] menȝdon,	They intermixed in commerce,

[1] 'Getincȝe,' *conditio, status.* Lye.

[2] 'Ger-scype' is perhaps from the same root with our 'gear,' and the Saxon 'ȝærsuma,' *treasure;* and will then bear the sense I have assigned it—the procuring of gear, i. e. commerce.

Lisse lenȝdon,	They prolonged my pleasures,
Luftum ȝlenȝdon.	And adorned me with luxuries.
Scrifen[1] scrad ȝlad	Vestments of joy carefully wrought
Ðurh-ȝescad inbrad	Shed around in breadth
Wæs on laȝu streame lad	Were led over the ocean-flood
Ðær me leoðu[2] ne bi ȝlad.	Where my vessel miscarried not.
Hælde ic hæanne had,	I held a high state,
Ne wæs me in healle ȝad	Nor was there in my hall any peer
Ðæt ðær rof weord rad;	Who would utter a haughty word there;
Oft ðær rinc ȝebad	But men often supplicated there
Ðæt he in sele sæȝe,	[For the treasures] which they beheld in my court,
Sinc ȝewæȝe.	The weighed silver.
Ðeynum ȝeðyhte[3] . . .	. . . . .
Ðenden wæs ic mæȝen,	Thence was I powerful,
Horsce mec heredon,	Brave warriors obeyed me,
Hilde ȝeneredon,	They delivered me in battle,
Fæȝre feredon,	They fairly supported me,
Feondon biweredon.	And protected me from mine enemies.
Swa mec hyht-ȝiefu heold	So faithfully the gifts of hope
Hyȝe Dryht befeold;	Did the Lord pour into my mind;

[1] 'Scrifen,' *curare*. Lye. I doubt, however, my translation of this and the following line, but am unable to substitute one more satisfactory.

[2] 'Leoðan,' *navigare*. Lye. I suppose 'leoðu' to be a substantive from the same root.

[3] Some word which might rime with 'mæȝen' in the next line has here been lost from the text.

Staðol æhtum stealđ,	He established a firm foundation for my possessions,
Stepe-ȝonȝum weold.	And directed my steps in their [goings.
Swylce eorðe ol	So in the earth
Ahte ic ealdor stol;	I possessed a royal seat;
Galdor wordum ȝol,	I sang magic strains,
Gomel sibbe neof[1] oll.	And grown old in peace I had no [disgrace.
Ac wæs ȝefest ȝear,	But I was formerly firm,
Gellende sner,	Affluent . . .
Wuniende wær,	Abiding safely,
Wil-bec[2] be scær.	With an abundant stream [of good] by my portion.
Scealcas wæron scearpe,	My servants were sagacious,
Scyl wæs hearpe.	There was skill in their harping.
Hlude hlynede,	It resounded loud,
Hleoðor dynede,	The strain re-echoed,
Swęȝl-rad swinsade	Melody was heard
Swiðe, ne minsade.	Powerfully, nor did it cease.
Burȝ sele beofode,	The hall vibrated (at the sound),
Beorht hlifade;	Splendour shone;
Ellen eacnade,	My spirit expanded,
Ead eacnade;	My happiness increased;

[1] I have considered 'neof' as irregularly formed from the verb 'n' abban,' *not to have;* whence 'ðu n'æfest.' But I am far from satisfied with this conjecture.

[2] 'Wil-bec' appears of the same family of compounds with 'will-burne' and 'will-flood,' signifying *a welling stream.* 'Be scær' may mean *by my share* or *portion;* and the image conveyed by this line will then be, "The stream of abundance was in my portion:" but in this and many other instances I can only offer my attempts to interpret the obscure metaphors of the original poem as possible conjectures.

Freaum frodade,	I was prudent among princes,
Fromum ȝodade,	And successful among the brave.
Mod mæȝnade,	Powerful in mind,
Mine fæȝnade.	And rejoicing in spirit.
Treow telȝade,	My tree flourished,
Ƿir welȝade,	My sway increased,
* * * * * * [1]	* * * * *
Blæd blissade,	Fruit blessed me,
Gold ȝearwade,	Gold was at hand,
Gim hwearfade,	Gems poured around me,
Sinc searwade [2],	Silver was artificially wrought,
Sib nearwade;	My kindred were closely united;
From ic wæs in frætwum,	I was brave in adornment,
Freolic in in-ȝeatwum,	And graceful in carriage,
Wæs min dream dryhtlic,	My glory was lordly,
Ðrohtad hyhtlic;	My dominion illustrious;
Foldan ic freoðode,	I was benevolent to the land,
Folcum ic leoðode;	I sang lays to the people;
Lif wæs min lonȝe	My life was long
Leodum inȝemonȝe,	Among my nation,
Tirum ȝetonȝe	My condition in my dominions
Teala ȝehonȝe.	Was happily supported.
Nu min hreðer is hreoh,	But now my breast is rough,
Heoh [3]-siðum sceoh,	Shaken by the season of woe,

[1] The defective alliteration shows that a line is here lost.

[2] 'Searwian' usually occurs in an unfavourable sense, meaning *to employ artifice:* yet, as we find the related terms 'searw' used for *a machine*, and 'searolice' for *mechanically*, it may, I think, bear the signification here assigned.

[3] 'Heoh' is perhaps used in the place of 'heof,' *woe.* 'Sceoh,' for 'sceoc,' *shook;* from 'sceacan.'

Nyd bysȝum neah;	Nigh to stern necessity;
Gewited nihtes infleah	And he is tormented at the approach of night
Se ær in dæge was dyre;	Who before in the day was highly esteemed;
Scriðed nu deop feor,	Deep fire now is wrapt around,
Brond hord ȝeblowen	And the hoard of brands inflamed
Breostum inforȝrowen;	Increasing around his breast;[1]
Flyhtum to-flowen	Flowing in flights
Flah is ȝeblowen	The dart is blown forth
Micluṁ in ȝemynde	Against the haughty of soul
Modes ȝecynde;	In the disposition of his mind;
Greteð onȝrynde	He lamenteth in the abyss
Grorn ofen pynde.	Pained in the furnace of woe.
Bealo-fus byrneð,	The prompt destruction burneth,
Bittre wyrneð;	Bitterly it correcteth him;
Wid sið onȝinneð,	A wide journey beginneth,
Sar ne sinneð;	Affliction ceaseth not;
Sorȝum cinnið	He exclaimeth in sorrows
Blæd his blinnið,	His joy hath ceased,
Blisse linnað,	His bliss hath declined,
Listum linneð;	He is fallen from his delights;
Lustum ne cinneð.	He exclaimeth not in happiness.
Dreamas swa her ȝedresað,	Thus glories here are prostrated,
Dryht scyre ȝehreosað;	And the lordly lot brought low;
Lif her men forleosað	[So] men here lose their life
Leahtras oft ȝeceosað;	And often choose crimes;

[1] I apprehend the harsh metaphors of these lines to allude to the corrective fires and tortures of purgatory.

Treow ðraȝ	A faithful course
Is to-traȝ,	Is withdrawn, [aboundeth.
Seo untrume ȝenaȝ.	And that which hath no firmness
Steapum eatole misðah	. . . . .
Ond eal stund ȝenaȝ.	. . . . .
Swa nu world wendeð;	Thus now the world wendeth;
Wyrde sendeð,	Fate sendeth [men to their doom],
And hetes henteð;	And feuds pursue them;
Hæleðe scyndeð,	Chieftains oppress,
Wer cynȝe witeð,	War-kings go forth,
Wæl ȝar sliteð,	The dart of slaughter pierceth,
Flah mah fliteð,	The violent arrow flieth,
Flan man hwiteð,	The spear smiteth them,
Burȝ sorȝ biteð;	Sorrow devoureth the city;
Bald ald ðwiteð,	The bold man in age decays,
Wræc-fæc wriðað,	The season of vengeance tormenteth him,
Wrað að smiteð;	And enmity easily assaileth him;
Sin-ȝrynd sidað[1],	The abyss of sin increaseth,
Sæcre [sæaro] fearo ȝlideð,	Sudden treachery glideth in,
Grom torn ȝræfeð,	Grim rage grieveth,
Græft hafað,	Woe possesseth,
Searo hwit solað[2]	Every possession is deceitful,
Sumur het colað,	Summer's heat groweth cool,
Fold fela fealleð,	Many things fall to the ground,
Feond-scire wealleth,	The portion of strife aboundeth,

[1] The construction seems forced, but no other suggests itself.

[2] 'Solað' is perhaps the same with 'sælð,' *possessions*.

Eorð mæʒen ealdað,	Earthly power groweth old,
Ellen colað.	Courage groweth cold.
Me ðæt wyrd ʒewæf,	This Fate wove for me,
And ʒehwyrt forʒeaf	And as decreed assigned it [grief.
Thæt ic ʒrofe ʒræf.	That I should grieve with this
And ðæt ʒrimme ʒræf	And the grim grave
Flean flæsce ne mæʒ;	Flesh may not flee;
Ðon flah hred dæʒ,	Soon as the rapid day hath flown,
Nid ʒrapum nimeð	Necessity seizeth in her grasp
Ðon seo neah becymeð;	When she cometh nigh;
Seo me eðles onfonn,	She that hath taken me from my country,
And mec her heardes on conn.	And here exerciseth me in hardship.
Ðonne lichoma liʒeð,	Then the corpse lieth,
Lima wyrm friteð,	Worms fret the limbs,
Ac him wen ne[1] ʒewiʒeð,	And the worm departeth not,
And ða wist ʒehyʒeð	And there chooseth its repast
Oððæt beoð ða ban an;	Until there be bone only left;
* * * * * * [2]	* * * * * *
And æt nyhstan nan	And at the last there is no one [exempt]
Nefne se nede tan[3]	But that his fate compels [him to become]

[1] 'Wen.' 'Wen-wyrm,' *vermis genus.* Lye.

[2] A line is here lost.

[3] 'Tan' is sometimes used for *lot* (*vide* Lye). The line seems equivalent with "Oððe sio wyrd us nede," *sive fatum nos compellit.* Boeth. 40, 7.

Balawan herȝe hlotene.
Ne bith se hlisa adroren[1]

A prey to that destructive host [the worms].
Nor shall he be conversant with [happiness

Ær ðæt eadiȝ ȝeðenceð
He hine ðe oftor swenceð,

Ere the blessed one [God] thinketh
That he hath sufficiently often afflicted him [for the purpose of purgatorial correction],

Byrȝeð him ða bitran synne,
Hoȝað to ðære betran wynne.

And burieth for him his bitter sin,
And exalteth to a better joy.

Gemon morða lisse,
Her sinden miltsa blisse,

Remember [therefore] immortality,
Where are merciful blessings,

Hyhtlice in heofona rice.
Uton nu halȝum ȝelice

Full of hope in heaven's kingdom.
Ah, may we be like the saints

Scyldum byscyrede,
Scyndum ȝenerede,
Wommum biwerede,

Washed from our sins,
Liberated from condemnation,
Protected from terror,

* * * * * *[2]
Dær mon cyn mot
For meotude rot,

* * * * * * *
Where mankind shall
Before their Creator rejoicing,

Soðne God ȝeseon,
And āa in sibbe ȝefean.

Behold the true God,
And evermore enjoy peace.

The Exeter MS. contains also some other instances of rime, not indeed used through an entire poem (as in the preceding composition), but occasionally introduced. One of these instances occurs

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[1] I read this, "Ne bið se lissa adrohten," which restores the rime.
[2] A line is here lost.

in that part of the poem on the Phœnix printed in italics in the present work, p. 226. Another (here subjoined) is found in the Hymn of which a short analysis is given, p. 215.

Đæt nu manna ȝehwylc	That now whosoever among men
Cwic ðenden her wanaþ	here abideth in life
ȝeCeosan mot	might choose
swa Helle Hierðu	either hell fire
swa Heofones mærðu;	or heaven's joy;
swa Leohte Leoht	either the bright light
swa ðam Laðan niht;	or loathsome night;
swa THrymmes THræce,	either the majesty of glory,
swa THrystra wræce;	or the punishment of audacious crimes;
swa mid Drihten Dream,	either glory with the Lord,
swa mid Deoflum hræm;	or groaning with devils;
swa Wite mid Wraðum,	either punishment with wrath,
swa Wuldor mid arum;	or glory with honour;
swa Life swa deaþ;	either life or death;
swa him Leofe biþ.	as his will shall be.

SECOND COMMUNICATION

ON

THE METRE OF ANGLO-SAXON POETRY.

[*From Vol.* xvii. *of the* ARCHÆOLOGIA.]

Read before the Ant. Soc., Dec. 9, 1813.

IN the last communication, I endeavoured to prove that the poetical compositions of the Anglo-Saxons were distinguished from their prose by the continual use of a certain definite rhythm; and to investigate, as far as I was able, the metrical structure of those venerable and interesting remains. I now proceed to add such further remarks on their peculiar characteristics as have been suggested to me by an attentive though partial examination of the principal works of this description, preserved either in print or in manuscript.

With respect to the alliteration systematically adopted by all the writers of Anglo-Saxon poetry, little perhaps can be added to the observations of the laborious Hickes. It may however be briefly noticed, that our ancestors do not appear to have been anxious to construct their alliterative systems with the intricacy or variety said to be discoverable in those of the northern Scalds[1]; that they were more partial to the recurrence of consonants than vowels; and that they were usually studious of throwing the alli-

[1] This intricacy, however, is to be found only in Scaldic poetry of more recent date than the close of the 9th century. The *fornyrdalag*, or ancient metre, is entirely parallel to the Saxon versification in this and every other respect.—ED.

teration on the emphatic syllables. I do not recollect any instance of an attempt to carry on the same alliteration through a considerable number of lines together. It seldom, I believe, extends beyond the distich; and its constant recurrence within this definite space would alone, I am convinced, have been sufficient to induce Mr. Tyrwhitt, had he given more of his time and attention to the subject, to regard it as an index of a systematic and uniform division of the sentence, to which nothing analogous could be discovered in the prose compositions either of the Anglo-Saxons or any other people. In those cases (and they are of extremely rare occurrence) where no alliteration can be traced, we may fairly conjecture that its absence is owing either to the carelessness of the writer, or, which is yet more probable, to the license frequently assumed by the transcribers of the middle ages, of substituting for the original text such expressions as appeared to themselves more poetical or more intelligible.

But enough has, I trust, been offered upon this subject to clear up, in some measure at least, the obscurity in which the haste and inaccuracy of one whom, upon any other point of criticism, it would be difficult to convict of either, had involved it.

The general history of Anglo-Saxon poetry, and the characteristic features of its diction and composition, have been so ably illustrated by the pen of Mr. Turner, as to leave but little to the industry of his successors in that field of literature.

That gentleman has particularly noticed the constant accumulation of equivalent, or nearly equivalent, words and phrases, which, as it generally constitutes the chief and earliest ornament of the poetry of rude and illiterate nations, appears in that of our Saxon ancestors to have supplied almost entirely the place of those higher graces and resources of composition, which are the natural results of a more advanced state of civil society, and a more extended range of information. There is, however, one peculiarity of construction occurring in the poetical remains of the Anglo-Saxons, which, as far as my knowledge extends, has not been mentioned

by any preceding writer; and which, nevertheless, is so generally prevalent in them, as to preclude, I think, all supposition of its being other than the effect of design. I mean an artificial arrangement of the several phrases or clauses of which the sentence is constituted, in a manner somewhat resembling that observed by Bishop Lowth in the sacred poetry of the Hebrews, and termed by that illustrious scholar *Parallelism.*

Of this the following examples will give, perhaps, a better notion than any explanation.

Terra tremuit,
Etiam cœli stillarunt,
Propter Deum
Ipse Sinai,
Propter Deum,
Deum Israelis.

Eduxit populum suum cum gaudio,
Cum jubilo electos suos.

Quum exiret Israel ex Ægypto,
Familia Jacobi, a populo barbaro.

Qui convertit rupem in stagnum aquarum,
Saxum siliceum in fontem aquarum[1].

Many more examples may be found by referring to the *Præll. Hebb.* of Lowth; but in most, if not in all of them, there is a parallelism of the verb, as well as of the other parts of the sentence, and the clauses are frequently connected by a conjunction; circumstances seldom observable in the parallelism (if I may be so allowed to term it) of the Anglo-Saxon writers. In the following

[1] Ps. lxviii. 9; cv. 13; cxiv. 1, 3. I quote from the literal translation of Berlin. Upsal, 1805.

specimens I have marked the corresponding lines with the same letters.

[a]) Ða wæs wuldres weard	*Ibi erat gloriæ Dominus*
Wolcnum bifenzun	*Cœlis trementibus,* (disruptis,)
[a]) Heah enzla Cyninz	*Altus angelorum Rex*
Ofer hrofas upp	*Super fastigia elevatus*
[a]) Haligra helm.	*Sanctorum tutela.*

---

[a]) Wile hi to eow	*Vult ille tanquam oves*
[b]) Ealles waldend	*Omnium Dominus*
[b]) Cyninz on ceastre	*Rex in civitate* (suâ)
[a]) Corðrene lytle	*Coronam parvam*
[b]) Fyrn-weorca fruma	*Antiquorum opérum* origo (creationis Auctor)
[a]) Folc zelædan	*Gentem ducere*
[c]) In dræma dræm.	*In gaudiorum gaudium.*

The foregoing are extracted from the Exeter MS. The poems attributed to Cædmon afford innumerable instances of the same figure.

One paragraph in his description of the Deluge may be rendered line for line, and almost word for word, thus:

[a]) Bethought him then, our God
[b]) Of him that plough'd the wave,
[a]) The gracious Lord of Hosts
[b]) Of Lamech's pious son,
[c]) And of each living soul
[c]) He saved amid the floods,
[a]) All glorious fount of life,
[c]) High o'er the deep abyss.

A somewhat similar species of apposition may occasionally, though I believe very rarely, be observed in the lyric poetry of tl

Greeks. There is a slight trace of it in a magnificent passage of the tenth Olympic of Pindar:

Ἴδε ΠΑΤΡΙΑΔΑ ΠΟΛΥΚΤΕΑΝΟΝ
Ὑπὸ στερεῷ πυρὶ, πλαγαῖς τε σιδάρου
Βαθὺν εἰς ὀχετὸν ἄταν ἵζουσαν ΕΑΝ, ΠΟΛΙΝ.

In our own language, the Paradise Regained offers one passage of a like construction:

Where God is praised aright, and godlike men,
The holiest of holies and his saints.

In the very few instances in which this figure is to be found in classical or in English poetry, it may perhaps be fairly regarded (so far as the term is applicable to any thing connected with studied composition) as *accidental*. In the Saxon, on the other hand, it is too uniformly adopted, and carried to far too great an extent to be attributed to mere chance. Whether it constituted a part of their original poetical mechanism, or whether it was adopted, with some little modification, from the style of those sacred poems in which it forms so prominent a feature, is a question to which it would perhaps be difficult to give even a plausible answer. As far as my own observation has gone, it appears to be most frequently used in those poems the subjects of which are drawn from scripture. It might also perhaps be questioned by some whether the rhythmical system itself, which it has been the object of these communications to illustrate, was originally the property of our northern ancestors, or whether it was constructed by them (after their conversion to Christianity, and consequent acquaintance with the general literature of the age) in imitation of the shorter trochaic and dactylic metres of the later classical and ecclesiastical poets; the authors most likely to have furnished the writers upon moral and religious topics with their favourite models. The resemblance between these and the Anglo-Saxon poems in

point of rhythm is certainly very considerable; but there is yet little reason to suppose it the effect of imitation. The same metrical system is certainly to be traced through the whole of that singular poem, the *Voluspa*, which, if we can rely upon the authority of the northern editors of their own national poetry, is the earliest composition extant in the Icelandic, and was written before the conversion of that people to Christianity, and consequently while they were yet ignorant of the models above alluded to [1].

These poems, too, being probably in most cases composed for the instruction and use of unlettered persons, their authors would hardly have gone out of their way to choose a metre to which the individuals whom they chiefly expected to reap the benefit of their pious labours were unaccustomed.

However this may be with respect to the metre, the systematic use of alliteration is a practice entirely of northern or (as it also was used by the Welch) of Celtic origin [2]. The instances of its occurrence, collected by Hickes from writers of classical antiquity, show by their scantiness that it never could have formed any part of the systematic prosody either of the Greeks or Latins. Whether it is to be found in that of any other country, I am ignorant [3]. If the Normans brought it with them into France, they lost it (together with their original language) at a very early period. In this country, though generally superseded by the use of rime, it continued occasionally to show itself, even sometimes in company with that intruder, at least till the period of the revival of letters.

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[1] The analogy, or rather the identity, of the Anglo-Saxon metre, and the *fornyrdalag*, or most ancient system of the Icelandic Scalds, forms the subject of a subsequent article in this Introduction.—Ed.

[2] An analysis of the Celtic metrical systems will be found in a subsequent part of this Introduction.—Ed.

[3] It is affirmed in the *Hodegus Finnicus*, a Grammar of that language by Martinius, that the Finlanders have an alliterative metre. They may possibly have adopted it from their Gothic neighbours.

I have subjoined as a specimen, which may somewhat further contribute to illustrate this subject, the description of the Deluge from Cædmon, in which I have adopted the following marks:

The antique letters mark the alliterative consonants or vowels, ás **F**us.

, marks the supposed division of feet, ás Siððan,.

¯ marks a syllable supposed in recitation to have been rendered (by the emphasis) equivalent to two, as Tīr.

+ marks a line, the rhythm of which appears doubtful, as + Wræcon arleasra feorh.

Drihten, sende	*Deus misit*
Reȝn from, **R**oderum,	*pluviam a cælo,*
and eac, **R**ume let	*et etiam latè dedit*
Wille, burnan	*fontes scaturientes*
on **W**oruld, ðrinȝan	*in orbem irruere*
of, **Æ**dra ȝe,hwære.	*e venâ omni.*
Eȝor, streamas	*Oceani fluctus*
Swearte, **S**woȝan.	*nigri resonabant.*
Sæs up,**S**tiȝon	*Maria ascendebant*
ofer, **ST**eað weallas.	*super riparum mœnia.*
STranȝ wæs and, reðe	*Fortis erat et acer*
se ðe, **W**ætrum, **W**eold;	*qui aquis imperavit;*
Wreah and, ðeahte	*tegebat et obruebat*
Man,fæhðu, bearn.	*iniquitatis filios.*
Middan, ȝeardes	*Mediam terram*
Wonnan, **W**æȝe	*luridus fluctus*
Wera, æðel-land	*hominum patriam*
Hof, **H**erȝode.	*elevatam vastavit.*
Hyȝe, teonan, wræc	*Animi iniquitatem ulciscebatur*
Metod on, **M**onnum.	*Creator in homines.*
Mere, swiðe, ȝrap	*Mare furens corripuit*
on, **F**æȝe, **F**olc.	*languentem populum.*

Feowertiȝ, daȝa,	*Quadraginta dies,*
Nihta, oðer swilc,	*noctes simul totidem,*
Nið wæs, reðe,	*ira fuit gravis,*
Wæll-ȝrim, **W**erum.	*strage ferox in viros.*
Wuldor, cyninȝes, yða	*Gloriæ regis unda*
+ wræcon, arleasra, feorh [1]	*ulsciszebatur impiorum mentem*
of **FL**æsc, homan.	*carne vestitorum* [i. e. *hominum.*]
FLod ealle wreah	*Fluctus omnes tegebat*
Hreoh under, **H**eofonum	*asper sub cœlo*
Hea, beorȝas	*altos montes*
ȝeond, **S**idne ȝrund,	*per latam terram,*
and on, **S**und ahof	*et super undam levabat*
Earce from, **E**orðan	*arcam a terrâ*
and ða, **Æ**ðelo, mid.	*et habitatores simul.*
Ða, **S**eȝnade	*Hoc illi jusserat*
Selfa, Drihten,	*ipse Dominus*
SCyppend, usser,	*Creator noster*
ða he ðæt, **SC**ip beleac.	*ut eam navem circumcluderet.*
Siððan, **W**ide rad	*Tunc latè profecta est*
Wolcnum, under	*sub cœlo*
ofer, **H**olmes **H**rincȝ	*super oceani circuitum*
Hof, seleste.	*domus beata.*
For mid, **F**earme.	*Ibat cum habitatoribus.*
Fære ne, moston	*Timere non debebant*
Wæȝ, liðendum	*undam navigantes*
Wætres, broȝan.	*aquæ violentiam.*
Hæste, **H**rinon	*Æstum tetigerunt,*
ac hie, **H**aliȝ, God	*sed eos sanctus Deus*

[1] We should probably read

Yða wræcon
Arleasra feorh

which perfectly restores the metre. The metrical points seem to have been misplaced in the MS.—Ed.

Ferede and, nerede.	*ducebat et servabat.*
Fiftena, stod	*Quindecim stabat*
Deop ofer, Dunum	*alta super montes*
sæ, Drence flod,	*maris unda*
Monnes, elna.	*hominum cubitus.*
Dæt is, Mæro wyrd,	*Ille est casus memorabilis*
Dam æt, Niehstan	*Illos prope*
wæs, Nan to ze,dale	*erat nemo, in solitudine*
+ nymde heo wæs	*præter Eum qui erat*
+ ahafen on	*elatus in*
+ da hean lyft.[1]	*alto cælo* (sc. Deum).
Da se, Egor-here	*Tunc aquarum agmen*
Eordan, tuddor	*terræ progeniem*
EAll a,cwealde:	*omnem obruit:*
buton dæt, EArcebord	*sed eam arcam*
heold, heofona, frea.	*sustinuit cæli Dominus.*

p. 31.

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[1] In the printed copy these three lines are thus divided by the usual punctuation. I have not at present the opportunity of consulting the MS. but should conjecture that the following was their original arrangement:

Nymde Heo, wæs a,Hafen
on da, Hean lyft.

ADDENDA,

BY THE EDITOR.

RECAPITULATION

OF THE

GENERAL LAWS OF ANGLO-SAXON METRE.

THE detailed analysis into which the Author of the preceding pages has there entered appears to establish on the firmest evidence the following canons as the genuine metrical laws of the Anglo-Saxon poets:

I. The rhythm is invariably trochaic or dactylic; emphasis, however, holding the place of quantity.

II. Each line usually consists of two feet[1], admitting (by a

[1] Some discussion has taken place on the continent whether these short metrical systems should be regarded as entire lines, or hemistichs only; the remaining half of the alliterative couplet being included, in order to complete the full line: i. e. whether we ought to arrange the following lines thus:

Fæge Feollon
Feld dynode
Secga Swate
Siððan Sunne up
on Morgen tid
Mære tuncgol

Glad

license familiar to many languages) the occasional introduction of a redundant syllable at the beginning or end of the line. Instances of the deficiency of a syllable (the line in that case containing only three syllables) are also sometimes, though very rarely, found.

III. Lines of three feet, and in some very rare instances even of four feet, are occasionally intermixed with those of the regular and shorter metre.

IV. The lines are associated together in couplets by the alliteration: when most perfect, this system contains three recurrences of the same initial letter—two in the former, the third in the latter, line of the couplet. Two such recurrences (one in each line) are, however, held sufficient. If the alliteral

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Glad ofer **G**rundas
Godes candel beorht
Eces Drihtnes
Oððæt sio **AE**ðele ȝesceaft
Sah to **S**etle.

or thus:

Fæȝe feollon . feld dynode
Secȝa swate . siððan sunne up
On morȝen tid . mære tuncȝol
Glad ofer ȝrundas . Godes candel beorht
Eces Drihtnes , oððæt seo æðele ȝesceaft
sah to setle.

To me the whole question appears to belong to the typographer rather than the critic: whichever mode be adopted, the internal structure of the verse is altogether unaffected; and our decision may be safely regulated by the convenience of the press. So far as use and authority are concerned, however, these are clearly in favour of the division into shorter lines: but it must be allowed that the second method would have the advantage of rendering the alliteration more prominent, and illustrating the identity of the Saxon metre and that of Piers Plowman, which is always thus printed.

initials are consonants, absolute identity is required; but if vowels, every other vowel is regarded as equivalent[1]. The alliteration must always fall on the accented syllables; and the most perfect disposition appears to be when the last recurrence of the similar initial commences the first foot of the second line[2].

V. The pauses are always at the end of lines; but frequently carried beyond the couplet, falling on the close of the first line of the succeeding couplet: thus the monotony which would prevail if the pause generally coincided with the close of the alliteral system is avoided.

VI. Terminal rimes are occasionally introduced in some compositions apparently of a later date, and referable to the Dano-Saxon period: these are frequently double.

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[1] The intermixture of the less perfect alliteration of vowels, the frequent use of two instead of three alliteral sounds, and the shifting the place of the last, are absolutely necessary to relieve the monotonous effect of this system.

[2] In the kindred metre of the Scandinavian Scalds, the alliteral word of the second line is called *Hofutstafur*, or Cardinal, being that which governs the others; and these are termed *Studlar*, or Auxiliaries.

COMPARATIVE VIEW

OF THE

ICELANDIC AND ANCIENT TEUTONIC METRES.

THE history of Anglo-Saxon poetry may derive still further illustration from a critical inquiry into the metrical systems of the kindred Gothic tribes; for we shall find that the peculiar mode of versification which has been already analysed was by no means confined to one single dialect of the widely extended parent language spoken by the swarms of the northern hive; but, if not originally coextensive with that mighty tongue in all its ramifications, at least afforded the earliest vehicle of poetry in the Scandinavian and Teutonic as well as in the Anglo-Saxon branch. This circumstance claims our attention under a double point of view, as at once establishing the high antiquity of the system itself, and removing the possibility of doubt with regard to its precise nature.

In the first place, the common possession of this system by these kindred continental nations at once carries its date backwards at least to the middle of the fifth century, the period when our Saxon and Anglic ancestors emigrated from their seats on the Elbe, since it must have originated while the intercourse of neighbourhood favoured its diffusion, and while these several tribes were as yet held together as the families of a common race. No historical circumstances of a later age than the date assigned can with any show of probability be alleged as affording a solution of the fact stated: for although much subsequent intercourse did indeed take place between the Saxons and their Danish invaders, yet most assuredly we cannot suppose it to have been of a nature at all likely to exert any *literary* influence previously to the establishment of the dynasty of

Canute; but we find the Saxons in full possession of this metrical system not only antecedently to that period, but even in the age of Bede (735) and of Cædmon (the latter half of the seventh century), long before the first keels of the Scandinavian Vikingr[1] had swept our coasts with the storm of their predatory warfare.

The identity of the metrical system employed by the "Scald" of Scandinavia and the Anglo-Saxon "Scop," besides affording this attestation to its antiquity, enables us to ascertain the genuine laws of that system with the utmost exactitude; since it continued in common and vernacular use among the poets of the north in the age of Snorro[2], the great compiler of the canons of their prosody as well as their mythological traditions, in whose *Hattalykli*, or Key of Metres (drawn up about 1230), the rules by which it was regulated are recorded with the same minute precision with which we should find the measures of Pindar or Horace illustrated by the grammarians of Greece or Rome.

From these sources, as well as from the examination of the very

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[1] The earliest appearance of Danish pirates on the English coast did not take place till 780; nor were there any instances of their coming in considerable force before 832, or of their even remaining to take up winter quarters in the island till 854. It is absolutely impossible to suppose any freedom of intercourse between them and the natives till Alfred allowed the remnant of their invading hordes to colonize East Anglia in 878: nor is it likely they could have materially influenced our language or literature till the epoch of their ascendancy in the beginning of the eleventh century.

[2] It cannot indeed be properly said to have become extinct in Iceland even at the present day, although generally superseded by stanzas of more modern form, since a poet yet living has translated the Paradise Lost into this ancient measure: nor is it the least interesting feature in its history that it should have survived so many revolutions, and that the rude adventures of the gods of Asgard should have been sung by the ancient Scalds of Scandinavia to the same measure which has thus been made the medium of conveying to their descendants the lofty strain and awful truths of the Miltonic poem.

copious remains of Scaldic poetry yet extant, we learn that, besides those complicated metrical systems which the perverse ingenuity of the Scalds of the eleventh century delighted to multiply and diversify to an extent almost endless (with equal injury, if modern ears and judgement may pronounce, to the harmony of their verse and freedom of their composition), their prosody always contained a metre of much more simple and natural construction, whose superior antiquity was attested by the name *fornyrdalag*, "the ancient lay," its specific distinction.

The *fornyrdalag* consists of short verses, (generally dipodial, trochaics, or adoniacs[1]), in measure, cadence, and alliteration, completely parallel to those of the Anglo-Saxon poetical remains; so that the rules known to have prevailed in the one may without fear of mistake be applied to the illustration of the other.

In this measure the whole of the *Edda*, and the poetry quoted by Snorro Sturleson in the *Ynglinga Saga* or History of the Ynglingi, the earliest dynasty of Norwegian kings, is composed. The first traces of the more intricate combinations of assonances do not appear till the reign of Harold Harfager (885), in which we find them first used by a Scald named Thorbiorn Hornkloffe.

A single example will be sufficient to evince this identity of metrical system: it is indeed so strikingly obvious that it cannot fail to manifest itself at once to every eye and ear accustomed to or qualified for such investigations. The poem I have selected for the purposes of this comparison is the *Gudrunar Quida*, one of the most interesting contained in the Eddaic collection. It may be necessary, in order to explain its subject, to premise that it relates to the sorrow of Gudrun for the death of her husband Sigurd, treacherously murdered by her brother Gunnar. This story bore to the cyclus of early northern poetry the same relations which the

[1] On a careful examination of the Edda I find that about two-thirds of the poems contained in it consist exclusively of these shorter lines of two feet; in the remainder, lines of three feet are occasionally intermixed, and in some few instances predominate.

crimes and suffering of the houses of Laius and Atreus did to that of the Greeks, and has been rendered familiar to the English reader interested in this department of literature by the elegant abstracts given in Weber's Teutonic and Scandinavian Romances.

The tone of feeling exhibited in the following extract may remind the classical reader of a phrase of expressive brevity, *μείζω ἡ κατα δακρύα*, in which Thucydides describes the sufferings of his countrymen before Syracuse: the language of nature and passion is the same in the philosophic historian of Athens and the untaught Scald of Scandinavia.

In order to illustrate the close affinity of the Icelandic and Anglo-Saxon, I have inserted a literal translation in the latter language; or, I may rather say, an edition of the same poem in that dialect; for the difference, for the most part, consists only in the variation of spelling. The version thus formed retains the alliteration, and so, far as a modern ear can judge, the rhythm of a genuine Saxon poem.

Original Icelandic.	*Saxon version.*
AR var ðat Gudrun	ÆR ðam ðe Gudrun
Gördiz at deyia	Gearwode dydan
er hon Sorg-full Sat	ða heo Sorgfulle Sæt
yfir Sigurði;	ofer Sigurde;
gerðit Hon Hiufra,	ne gearcode Heo Heofing,
ne Höndom sla,	ne Hondum sloh,
ne Queina um	ne ymb Cwanode
sem Konor aðrar.	swa same Cwenas oðre.

English version.

It was ere that Gudrun
Prepared to die
When she sorrowful sat
Over Sigurd's [corpse;]
She made not showers [of tears],
Nor smote she with her hands,
Nor moaned she for him
The same as other women.

Original Icelandic.	*Saxon version.*
Genȝo **I**arlar,	**Ȝ**Odon ðа **EO**rlas,
Al-snótrir fram,	**Ȝ**Al-snottera fruma,
ðeir er **H**ardz **H**uȝar	ða ðe of **H**eard-**H**yȝe
Hana lautto;	**H**i lættan woldon;
ðeyȝi **G**udrun	swa ðeah **G**udrun
Grata matti,	**G**rætan ne mihte,
sva var hun **M**oðuȝ,	swa wæs heo **M**odiȝe,
Mundi hon sprinȝa.	swa **M**ihte heo to sprinȝan.

English version.

There came earls,
The chief of the wisest,
Who from her hard state of mind
Would have dissuaded [let] her;
Nor yet Gudrun
Might weep,
So anguished was she,
She was nigh to burst.

Original Icelandic.	*Saxon version.*
Sato **I**trar	Sæton **I**desa[1]
Iarla bruðir,	**E**orla brydas,
Gulli bunar,	**G**olde bundene,
fur **G**udruno;	fore **G**udrune;
hver **S**aȝdi ðeirra	æȝhwa **S**æcȝde ðærra
Sinn of-treȝa,	**S**ine of-treȝe,
ðann er **B**itrastan	ðæne ðe **B**ittrestan
of **B**edit hafdi.	**B**idod hæfdon.

English version.

There sat illustrious
Brides [widows] of earls,

[1] The Saxon having no term of the same etymology and force with the Icelandic 'itrar,' I have been obliged to substitute (*metri causâ*) 'idesa,' *women*.

Boon [adorned] with gold,
Before Gudrun;
Each of them said [recounted]
Her own affliction,
The bitterest that
She had abode.

One relates the loss of *several* successive husbands, and of all her children and brethren; another had experienced, in addition to similar privations, the miseries of slavery.

Original Icelandic.	*Saxon version.*
Ðeyzi **G**udrun	Swa ðeah **G**udrun
Grata matti,	**G**rætan ne mihte,
sva var hon **M**oðuz	swa wæs heo **M**odize
at **M**auz dauðan,	æt **M**aza deaðe,
ok **H**arð-**H**uzuð	eac **H**eard **H**ycgiende
um **H**rær fylkis.	ymb **H**ræw folc-frean.

English version.

Nor yet Gudrun
Might weep,
So anguished was she
For her husband's death,
And so hard of mind
Over the corpse of her lord.

Original Icelandic.	*Saxon version.*
Ða quað ðat **G**ullrönd,	Ða cwæð ðæt **G**ulrond,
Giuka dottir,	**G**iukan dohtor,
"**F**a kantu, **F**ostra,	"**F**ea canst ðu, **F**oster,
ðott ðu **F**roð ser,	ðeah ðu **F**rode sy,
Unzo vifi	**I**unzre wife
Annspiöll bera."	**A**nspell beran."
Varaði **H**on at **H**ylia	Weardode **H**eo of **H**elan
um **H**rær fylkis.	**H**ræw folc-frean.

English version.

Then quoth Gulrand,
Giuka's daughter,
" Few [things] kenn'st thou, my fostress,
Though thou art prudent,
To a young wife [widow]
Counsel to bear."
[Then] was she ware no longer to conceal
The corpse of the chief.

Original Icelandic.

Svipti hon blæio
af Sigurði,
ok Vatt Vengi
fur Vifs kniam:
" Littu a Liufan,
Legðu munn við grön,
sem ðu Halsaðir
Heilan stilli."

Saxon version.

Swipte heo ða Sceatas[1]
of Sigurde,
Wand eac Wængas
fore Wifes cneowum:
" Wlita ðu on Leofan,
Lecga ðu muð to muðe[2],
swa ðu ymb Halsige gyt
Halan stille."

English version.

She swept the pall
Off Sigurd,
And turned his cheeks
Before his wife's knees:
Look thou on thy love,
Lay thou thy mouth to his lips,
As though thou didst embrace him
Still alive."

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[1] From the deficiency of a Saxon form of the Icelandic 'blæio,' this word is here substituted.

[2] The Saxon has no form of the Icelandic 'grön.'

Original Icelandic.	*Saxon version.*
Aleit Gudrun	**O**nwlat Gudrun
Eino sinni;	**Æ**ne siðe;
sa hon **D**auglings skaur	ȝeseah heo **D**eorlinȝes[1] hær
Dreyra runna,	**D**reore yrnende,
Franar sionir	**F**reomne ansyn
Fylkis liðnar,	**F**olc-frean ȝehlidenne,
Huȝ-borȝ jöfurs	**H**iȝe-beorȝ[2] **H**eretoȝan
Hiörvi skorna.	ecȝum to **H**eawenne.

English version.

Gudrun looked on
One moment;
She saw her warrior's hair
Running with gore,
The [once] shining eyes
Of her lord extinct,
The breast [the fortress of the soul] of the chief
Pierced with the sword.

Original Icelandic.	*Saxon version.*
Ða **H**ne Gudrun,	Ða **H**nah Gudrun,
Haull við bolstri,	**H**olen wið bolstras,
Haddr losnaði,	**H**eafod-beah lysnade,
Hlyr roðnaði,	**H**leor readode,
en **R**eȝns dropi	**A**nd ræȝnas dropan
Rann niðr um kne.	niðer **A**rn ymb cneowa.

[1] Substituted for 'daugling,' there being no Saxon derivative of the latter.

[2] The original is here obscure, as it contains several ἅπαξ λεγόμενα. I have employed in the Saxon translation terms at least of similar appearance, which will express "the bold glance of the chief closed [in death]."

[3] The compound 'Hiȝe-beorȝ' is quoted consonant to the rules of Saxon analogy. The remaining words of this distich are equivalent in sense, though not in etymology, to the Icelandic.

English version.

Then Gudrun bowed down,
Concealing herself amongst the cushions,
Her head-gear loosened,
Her cheek reddened,
And the rain-drops [tears]
Ran beneath to her knee.

Since poetry can alone reflect with any degree of truth the images of poetry, the Editor has ventured to subjoin a metrical imitation, though conscious of having exhibited a very feeble copy of a very spirited original.

BY her Sigurd's blood-stained bier
As, with equal death oppress,
Gudrun sat; she shed no tear,
Her hand she smote not on her breast:
Word, nor sign, nor act, might show
The wonted course of woman's woe.

Sages came, the wisest they,
But vain the aids from art they borrow:
Can rhetoric soothe, or reason sway,
That stern mood of deepest sorrow,
When the heart to bursting swells,
Yet no tear its anguish tells?

Round her press'd a widowed train,
Sisters they in grief united,
Calling back long scenes of pain,
Each her own sad tale recited:
Vainly thus to wake they try
The soothing power of sympathy.

Vainly: for her anguish'd mind,
Stunn'd beneath that sudden blow,
Hardens, to itself confined,
Nor opens to another's woe.
Hard and cold was Gudrun's soul,
Nor sigh would rise, nor tear would roll.

Last did youthful Gulrand speak—
"Matrons, though in wisdom old,
Here, I ween, your skill is weak;
Age's counsels, all too cold,
Cannot reach the widow'd heart,
When youths' strong loves are rent apart."

With hurrying hand from Sigurd's bier
Swept she then the pall away:
"On him thy love look, Gudrun dear,
To his cold lip thy warm lip lay,
And round him, as they still could hold
Thy living lord, thine arms enfold."

Gudrun turn'd—one hurried glance
On that much loved form she threw—
A moment view'd, where murder's lance
Had pierced the breast to her so true;
Saw stiff with blood those locks of gold,
And quench'd that eye so bright, so bold.

She saw, and sank, and low reclined,
Hid in the couch her throbbing head.
Her loose veil floated unconfined,
Her burning cheek was crimson'd red:
Then, her bursting heart's relief,
Copious fell the shower of grief.

With reference to the more complicated and later species of Scandinavian metres (introduced at the close of the ninth century), it is not necessary to enter here into any length of detail, as they have no direct connexion with the Saxon systems. Their essential character consists in their containing, besides the alliteral letters, two assonant syllables in each line, differing from terminal rime in the circumstance that the assonance was often placed on the penultima instead of being restricted to the last syllable; the corresponding sound occurring in the first hemistich, whence this system has been denominated hemistichial rime. One example of this arrangement may serve *instar omnium*. In that annexed, 'idn' and 'rodna' in the first line are assonant; 'verpr' and 'snerpir' in the second; 'gagn' and 'eignaz' in the third; 'hitnar' and 'witnir' in the fourth. Two species of this assonance were reckoned:—the more perfect, when both consonants and vowels corresponded; this was always employed in the second line of each couplet, and was named *adalhending*, noble and full rime:—and the less perfect, when the consonants only corresponded, employed in the first line, called *skothending* or *snidhending*, imperfect or half rime. Of these intricate systems, more than 300 species (differing principally in the collocation of the assonant syllables) have been reckoned; but the following is the most usual form: it is called *Drotquædi*, proper—with hemistichial rime.

Vex *idn*, **V**elli*ꝛ* *rodn*a,
V*erpr* lind, ðrimo sn*erpir*,
Fæz *gagn*, **F**ylkir *eign*az,
Falr *hitnar*, sedz w*itnir*,
SKekr r*önd*, **SK**ildir b*end*az,
SKelfr *askr* ȝridom *raskar*,
BR*andr* gellr, **BR**ynior s*undr*az,
BRaka sp*ïör*, litaz *ör*far.

(Extracts from Snorro's *Háttalykli*, published by Johnstone, p. 34.)

The strife begins, fields redden,
Javelins are hurled, the din increases,
Ground is gained, the monarch conquers,
The blade grows warm, wolves are sated,
Bosses ring, shields are bent,
The hero foe to peace pants with ardour,
The sword clashes, mails are cleft,
Spears thunder, shafts are stained.

Regular final rime was also occasionally employed. Of this an example has been already inserted in this work (p. xvii.), for the purpose of comparison with a Dano-Saxon riming poem of a similar structure.

EARLY USE OF THE ALLITERATIVE METRE IN OTHER TEUTONIC DIALECTS.

As we have already seen that the tribes seated on the mouth of the Elbe and those of Scandinavia were in the common possession of the same metrical system (the *Fornyrdalag* of Scaldic prosody) at least as early as the fifth century, we might infer with a high degree of probability that the species of verse thus proved to have been so extensively diffused prevailed likewise in the other cognate dialects: nor although riming stanzas obtained in these an early [1], decided, and exclusive preference, are we left altogether without monuments establishing this inference by direct proof, so far at least as regards the dialects of central Germany. The most interesting of these are—1. The Weissenbrun Hymn; 2. The Fragment of the Romance of Hildebrand; 3. The Metrical Harmony of the Four Gospels.

[1] The paraphrase of the gospel, written in the Eastern Francic dialect by Otfrid in 850, is entirely composed in rime, without any trace of alliteration.

1. THE WEISSENBRUN HYMN

Is so called from its discovery in a MS. belonging to the convent of that place in Franconia, supposed to be of the eighth century. It has been published by the Grimms, 1812, and by Gley, *Langue et Literature des Anciens Francs*, 8vo. 1814, p. 155. From its brevity it may be here extracted entire. I have, as in the preceding specimen of the Icelandic *fornyrdalag*, annexed an Anglo-Saxon version, in order to illustrate still further the close affinity of that language with the kindred dialects of the continent: even the alliteration and metrical structure is preserved in this version, and the difference between it and the original amounts to little more than a slight variation in the spelling.

The dialect appears to be of intermediate character between those used in the higher and lower parts of Germany.

Original Teutonic.	*Anglo-Saxon version.*
DAT chi**F**rezin ih mit **F**irahim,	ÐÆT ze**F**ræzen ic mid **F**irum,
Firiwizzo meista,	**F**orwisra mæstum,
dat **E**ro ni was	ðæt **E**rra ne wæs
noh **U**fhimil,	nan **U**pheofon,
noh **P**aum noh **P**ereg,	nan[1] **B**eam nan **B**eorz,
. . . . ni was,	[1] . . . . ne wæs,
ni [**ST**erro] noh heiniz,	ne **ST**eorra nænize,
noh **S**unna ni **S**cein,	nan **S**unna ne **S**can,

English version.

THIS I have heard from men,
The chief of the elder sages,
That originally there existed
No heaven above,
No tree nor mountain,
Nor was there . . . .
Nor any star,
No sun shone forth,

[1] The metrical arrangement seems to prove that some words have been omitted by the scribe in this distich.

66564

Original Teutonic.	*Anglo-Saxon version.*
noh **M**ano ni liuhta,	nan **M**ona ne leohtode,
noh der **M**areo seo:	ne se **M**ære seo:
do dar ni**W**iht ni **W**as	ðonne ðær no**W**iht ne **W**æs
enteo ni **W**enteo,	[1] ende ne **W**ende,
enti do was der **E**ino	and ðonne wæs se **A**na
Almahtico Cot,	**Æ**lmihtiȝ God,
Manno **M**iltisto,	**M**annan **M**ildost,
† enti [dar warun auh] **M**anahe mit inan	† and [[2] ðær wæron eac] manige mid him
Cootlihhe **G**eista.	**G**odcundlice **G**astas.
[Enti] **C**ot heilac	[3] [Eala] **G**od haliȝ
Cot **A**lmahtico, du himil	God **Æ**lmihtiȝa, ðu heofon

English version.

Nor did the moon give her light,
Neither the vast sea [existed]:
Then was there nought
From end to end [of the universe];
But then existed the one
ALMIGHTY GOD,
Most merciful to man,
And with him were also many
God-like spirits.
Holy God
Almighty, the heaven

---

[1] 'Ende ne wende.' I am not aware that any authorities occur for the use of this phrase in the A.S. dialect; but as both the constituent words are Saxon, and the phrase itself analogous to many Saxon idioms, it may properly be retained.

[2] The metre seems to require that the words included between brackets should be omitted, and they are unnecessary to the sense: the poetical diction is certainly better without them.

[3] If it be allowable to consider the conjunction in this line as an error of the transcriber for an interjection, the sense will be rendered more consistent by annexing this line to the following address.

Original Teutonic.	*Anglo-Saxon version.*
enti **E**rda chiworahtos,	and **E**orðan ȝewrohtest,
enti du **M**annun	and ðu **M**annum
so **M**anac coot forchipi;	swa **M**anigе gode forscipest;
for**G**ip mir in dino **G**anada	for**G**if me in ðinne [1] **G**emiltsunȝ
rehta **G**alaupa	rihte **G**eleafan
enti cotan **W**illeon,	and ȝode **W**illan,
Wistom enti spahida,	**W**isdom and spede [2],
[enti] craft tiuflun za **W**idar- stantanne,	[3] deofol-cræft to **W**itherstan- danne,
enti arc za pi**W**isanne,	and arȝ to [4] **W**iðerianne,
enti dinan **W**illeon	and ðine **W**illan
za chi**W**urchanne.	To ȝe**W**yrceanne.

English version.

And the earth thou hast wrought,
And for men
Thou providest so many blessings;
Do thou bestow on me in thy grace
A right faith
And a good will,
Wisdom and good speed,
To withstand the craft of the devil,
And to eschew evil,
And thy will
To work.

---

[1] The Saxon does not appear to have any trace of the Teutonic 'ȝenaden,' *grace*, but expresses 'χαρις' generally by 'ȝifa.' I have here substituted 'ȝemiltsunȝ,' *mercy*.

[2] I have been induced to consider the Saxon 'spede' as representing the Teutonic 'spahida;' but a friend suggests that the latter term may mean 'Foresight.' So Volu-Spa—Spae-wife, *Scotch*. Gley renders it *Prudence*.

[3] The rhythm and sense would better be improved by the omission of the conjunction.

[4] I cannot find any Saxon form of 'piwisanne:' 'wiðerian,' however, agrees in sense; and if 'pi-wisanne' be a compound, may also agree in etymology with 'wisenne.'

2. FRAGMENT OF THE ROMANCE OF HILDEBRAND.

This fragment is extant in a MS. preserved in the abbey of Fulda. Its age is also supposed to be referable to the eighth, or early part of the ninth, century.

It has been repeatedly published,—by Eccard in his *Commentarius de Rebus Franciæ Orientalis,* tom. I. p. 864; by Weber, in his work on Teutonic Poetry and Romance; by the Grimms in 1812; and lastly by Gley in 1814, p. 147. The Grimms were the first to detect its metrical structure and alliteration, the former editors having hastily considered it as prose, although the general style of the diction ought to have shown at once their error. They have likewise bestowed more pains on the critical restoration of the text, and added a mass of valuable notes in elucidation of the language, metre, and the romantic story to which it alludes.

Hildebrand was one of the heroes of that cyclus of Teutonic romance of which Theoderic of Berne formed the central and prominent character: he was the chosen friend of that monarch, and had accompanied him in his thirty years' exile: sharing also in the prosperous revolution of his affairs, he returns to his own territory and castle, where he encounters suddenly his own son Hathubrand. The parties being unknown to each other, a fierce conflict takes place between them; and this forms the subject of the fragment in question.

As the whole of that fragment is inserted in the work of Messrs. Weber and Jamieson above referred to, and is therefore readily accessible, it will only be necessary in this place to cite a few lines in order to exhibit the identity of its metrical structure with that of the Scaldic and Saxon *fornyrdalag.*

The dialect in which it is written is supposed by some philologers to have been that prevalent in the lower parts of Germany; but the Grimms consider it as a mixed dialect, such as would have been produced by a Saxon transcriber of a Francic composition, and in which the features of the higher German predominate.

Do lættun se Ærist	THEN let they first
Asckim scritan	their ashen spears rush forth
Scarpen Scurim	with sharp showers
dat in dem Sciltim stont;	that fell upon their shields;
do Stoptun toSamane,	then stept they together,
Staimbort chludun,	the stone axes rung,
Hewun Harmlico	they hewed away harmfully
Huitte scilti	their white shields
unti im iro Lintun[1]	until their linden bucklers
Luttilo wurtun.	became small.

3. THE HARMONY OF THE FOUR GOSPELS.

This is extant in two MSS.; one supposed to have belonged to Canute, preserved in the British Museum (Cotton. MSS. Calig. a. 7.), and a second discovered at Bamberg by Mr. Gley in 1794. It was originally supposed to be written in the Francic dialect, and as such Hickes has given many extracts from it in his Francic Grammar (*Thes. Lingg. Septt.* t. 1. p. 101.)[2] More recent critics have, however, pronounced it to be a low German dialect. The following specimen will sufficiently exhibit the metrical and alliterative structure of this composition.

Nu muot Sniumo,	Now may readily,
Sundeono los,	loosed from their sins,
manaȝ Gest faran,	many spirits depart,
an Godes willeon	through God's will
Tionon aTomid,	delivered from punishment,

[1] I have followed the authority of Mr. Price in considering the denominative 'linden' to denote the *shields* rather than *banner-staffs* formed of that material.

[2] Some extracts have also been published by Nyerup in his *Symbolæ*, by the Grimms, and by Radlof in his Specimens of the parables of the Sower and Prodigal Son in the various Teutonic dialects.

ðe mid trewon wili	[of such as] with true will
Wid is **W**ini **W**irkean,	work with their friends,
endi an **W**aldand Crist	and on the Lord Christ
Fasto ȝilobean;	firmly believe;
ðat scalt te **F**rume werðan	for this shall be profitable
Gumono so huilicon	to every one of men
so ðat **G**erno duot.	whoso doeth it diligently.

(Hickes, *Gram. Franco-theotisc.* p. 105. in *Thes. Lingg. Septt.* t. 1.)

INVESTIGATION

OF

THE CELTIC ALLITERATIVE METRES.

THE metrical system which has been hitherto considered, has thus been proved to have existed as an early and common possession among many, perhaps among most, of the tribes of the great Gothic family of nations: and we may advance perhaps another step, and pronounce it to have been peculiar to that family. Alliteration, indeed, may be traced in the poetry of other languages; but we shall look in vain for a system of versification, of which this ornament constituted the predominant and almost exclusive characteristic.

If we look at those members of the great Indo-European order of languages which appear to have received the most early cultivation and polish, the Sanscrit and the Greek,—we shall indeed find this ornament sometimes occurring; but merely as incidentally and very sparingly introduced for the sake of occasional effect. The measures of the Sanscrit, though not identical with those of the Greek, are yet analogous to them[1], and entirely depend on the rhythmical cadence produced by the succession of feet of regulated quantity; and the sonorous length of its heroic verse presents the most striking opposition to the brevity of the Saxon and Scandinavian lines.

The Latin poetry, from the days of Ennius, exhibited merely the reflection of that of Greece: if we look at the few extant frag-

[1] See an essay on Sanscrit metres by Mr. Colebroke in the 9th volume of the Asiatic Transactions.

ments of earlier antiquity and more native growth, we indeed find shorter metres and an approximation to the Saxon cadence; but alliteration is entirely wanting.

Among the Celtic nations, however, this feature is certainly to be found intimately interwoven with the fabric of their poetry; but still not as constituting its peculiar predominant and indispensable characteristic, an office which devolves on rime. While this latter is constantly and strictly preserved, alliteration is employed with much irregularity, and in many instances can scarcely be detected; the Scandinavian and Celtic metrical systems differ, therefore, by inverting the relations of each other in these points: both indeed occasionally unite the ornaments of rime and alliteration; but that which is predominant and essential in the former, is subsidiary and occasional in the latter, and *vice versâ*. Yet to point out the analogy which certainly does exist to a certain degree between these ancient and original systems of metre, and to mark at the same time its precise extent and limits, is a desideratum which he who proposes to give an outline, however meagre, of the history of alliterative poetry seems bound to attempt supplying.

The Celtic languages still extant (or at least those languages which are usually denominated Celtic by philologists) are reducible to two branches (confined to the British isles and opposite coasts of France): 1. The Hiberno-Scotish, including the Irish, the Gaelic of the Scotch Highlands, and the Manks dialects; 2. The Cambro-British, including the Welsh, Cornish, and Armorican. The difference existing between these two principal branches is at least as striking as that which distinguishes the Greek from the Latin languages; the particular dialects of either agree as closely as the various dialects of Greek: both are clearly and nearly related to each other, and may be traced, though more remotely yet with equal certainty, to the great Indo-European race of tongues.

Our present concern, however, is not with the philological affinities, but with the metrical systems, of these languages. That of the Hiberno-Scotish shall be first examined.

1. HIBERNO-SCOTISH POETRY.

The early cultivation of poetry in this dialect is incontrovertibly ascertained by the testimony of Adamnan, an author of the seventh century, who mentions, in his Life of St. Columba, Cronan, a poet of the preceding century, *qui ex* more suæ artis *cantica modulabiter decantabat;* words which imply the previous familiar and established use of this art.

Nor are specimens of a very early date wanting, although we should reject with Dr. O'Connor, and indeed with every writer who appears to have brought a competent share of impartial criticism to the inquiry, the claims of the Pseudo Ossianic poems, as being alike destitute of adequate external evidence, and decidedly condemned by every species of internal evidence; whether we regard their dissimilarity in style, structure, and language, from the genuine remains of the most ancient Irish bards, or the anachronisms which, in spite of the extreme and cautious reserve of their forger, mark the few historical allusions which he has ventured to introduce.

The system of versification exhibited in the genuine relics of Irish poetry consists of four-lined stanzas, each line containing seven or eight syllables, riming together, either by the sequent lines (*i. e.* the first line with the second, and the third line with the fourth), or by alternate lines (*i. e.* the second with the fourth). The Irish rime, however (which is called in their grammatical treatises *Comharda*) does not require, like our own, an exact identity of consonants as well as vowels, but depends principally on the latter; it being sufficient if the consonants be of the same class: thus the words *roc, sop,* and *lot,* are considered as riming.

We find the alternate rime alone without any marked alliteration in the most ancient specimen cited by Dr. O'Connor, (see the valuable introductory volume to his promised edition of the *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores,* p. 90.)—a Hymn on the life of St. Patric, attributed to Fiec, and ascribed on the grounds of the great

antiquity of its language and the age of the manuscript which contains it, to the sixth century. The following is the first stanza:

Genair Patraic i Nemthur	*Natus est Patricius Nemturri*
Asseadh adfet hi *scelaibh,*	*Ut refertur in narrationibus,*
Macan se mbliadhan decc	*Juvenis fuit sex annorum et decem*
An tan do breth fo *dheraibh.*	*Quando ductus sub vinculis.*

Alliteration is conspicuously found in the productions of the ninth and following centuries; and throughout the middle ages constituted an essential feature of Irish poetry. It is termed by their grammarians *Uaim.*

The following specimen is from an historical poem written about the year 1057:

Ro ionnarb a **B**hrathair **B**ras	*Expulsit suum fratrem Bras*
Britus tar muir **N**iocht **N**amhnas,	*Britus ultra mare Ictium dictum,*
Ro ghabh Briotus **A**lbain **A**in	*Possedit Britus Albaniam illustrem*
Go roinn **F**iaghnach **F**othudain.	*Usque ad fines Venatoris Fothudani.*

Here it will be observed that each line contains two alliteral words; and such is the general disposition.

2. CAMBRO-BRITISH POETRY.

The earliest poems extant in this language are in the Welch dialect, which appears to have prevailed also among the Cumbrian and Strath Cluyd Britons.

They are ascribed to Aneurin, Taliesin, Llywarch Hen, and Merlin, a constellation of bards said to have flourished in the sixth century [1].

[1] The body of Welsh poetry, from the 6th to the close of the 14th century, has been printed in the first volume of the *Myvyrian Archaiology of*

Many of these are preserved in MSS. appearing to be of the twelfth century; and they are familiarly quoted by a series of authors from the tenth century downwards: so that their claim to an antiquity at least exceeding that period seems incontrovertibly established (see Turner's Vindication of the Welsh Bards): yet they must have been very early interpolated; for in the oldest Welsh MS. extant (the Black Book of Caermarthen, written in the twelfth century) we find a poem entitled *Hoianau neu Borchellenau,* ascribed to Merlin in the sixth century, in which Normandy is mentioned—a palpable anachronism.

From the sixth to the twelfth century, but few poetical names are preserved; but in the latter, a large assemblage, among which those of Gwalchmai and Cyndellu are the most distinguished, occur; and from this period, the dates of the Welsh poetical compositions are ascertained with as much precision as those of any other language.

The metrical systems of the bards of the sixth and of the twelfth centuries seem *essentially* the same; yet the latter present a distinctive character sufficiently obvious and striking in their *greater degree of complication.* The metrical ornaments which I am about to enumerate, though common to both, are yet used with a much more sparing hand by the former.

These metrical ornaments are four:

1. The Terminal Rime.
2. The Internal Rime.
3. The Alliteration.
4. The Cyrch, or supplemental foot.

Wales (London, 1801.). The public spirit of the individuals whose labour and expense has thus preserved the most interesting relics of their primæval language deserves high praise; but the poetical antiquary will often, while consulting this volume, have occasion to regret the entire absence of the spirit of sound criticism.

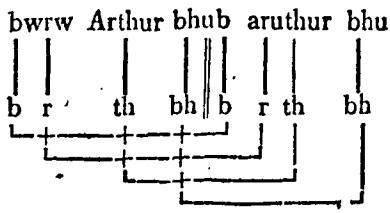
1. *The Terminal Rime.*—This is essential to Welsh poetry, and never absent, though in the earlier specimens (*e.g.* several of the compositions of Taliesin) few or no traces of the other ornaments appear. The rime often continues the same through a succession of eight or ten lines, sometimes through an entire poem; but in the lines affected by the Cyrch, or supplemental foot (presently to be described), the rime falls on the foot preceding the Cyrch.

2. *The Internal Rime.*—Besides the terminal rime, the same line often contains two or three other riming syllables within its compass: thus in the Gododin of Aneurin (ascribed to the sixth century):

Gwyr a *aeth* **G**a*traeth* **F**ed*saeth* **F**edd*wn*
FFurf **FF**rwythla*wn* oedd **C**am nas **C**ymhwyll*wn*.

3. *Alliteration.*—This feature, though occasionally dispensed with altogether, or but sparingly introduced in some of the earlier compositions, was yet in others carried to the greatest excess: thus in the foregoing distich we have two G's, two F's, two FF's, and CAM and CYM.

In some of the later systems, by a further refinement, the series of consonants in the first and last half of the line must correspond letter for letter: *e.g.*



This, however, seems uncommon, and is never practised by the earlier bards.

4. *The Cyrch.*—The system thus named is applied in the following manner. The general terminal rime, instead of falling on the last syllable of the line, is thrown back on the penultimate, antepenultimate, or some preceding syllable; and the supplemen-

tal foot or syllable thus superadded after the terminal rime constitutes the *Cyrch*. This *Cyrch* generally requires a corresponding sound, either by rime or alliteration, in the course of the next line, generally in its middle: thus a new fetter is introduced.

The Song of the Cuckoo, attributed to Llywarch Hen in the sixth century, and preserved in the Black Book, a MS. of the twelfth, exhibits specimens of this system in every stanza. One of these will suffice: the *cyrch* and its rime in the next line are printed in italics.

Gorciste ar vryn aerwyn—*vy mryd*
A he*vyd* ni'm cychwyn
Byr vy n'haith difaith vy nhyddyn.

In general, however, the *cyrch* is but sparingly used in the poems attributed to that age; and, when introduced, has frequently no corresponding sound in the next line.

In the fourteenth century these incumbrances of poetry were augmented to their extreme degree: thus in the Elegy to Myfanwy Vechan (written soon after 1300) there occurs a series of forty-six lines, all having 'ad' for their terminal rime. Of these, each uneven line is cyrchic, so that an additional rime is introduced; and this is twice repeated in the next line. Besides these, we have the internal rime of the first or uneven line of each distich; so that each distich contains three sets of rimes—the terminal, the cyrchic, and the internal: and one of these sets (the cyrchic) is a triplet: *e.g.*

Mireinwawr drefawr dra fo brad——*im dwyn*
Gwrando fy ng*hwyn fr*wyn freuddywydiad.

Here we find 1. brad and freuddywydiad—terminal rimes,
2. dwyn, nghwyn, frwyn—cyrchic rimes,
3. mireinwawr, drefawr—internal rimes,

that is to say, seven rimes in a distich of only twelve words; more than half the words being doomed to this incessant chime: besides

all which we have two sets of alliteration, extending always to two and sometimes to three corresponding initials in each line: 1. dre-fawr dra; 2. frwyn freuddywydiad. To have written poetry under these barbarous restraints must clearly have been impossible; and it gives us no mean idea of the flexibility of the language that it could have been forced to submit to them, and yet have retained any semblance of meaning.

The *Rimes couées* and *entrelacées* of the Provençaux were a light and easy bondage compared to this Egyptian drudgery: nor are the distortions of Indian jugglers more wonderfully unnatural and unpleasing. The reader, however, may be amused with the following eulogium on these systems, pronounced by the Editors of the *Myvyrian Archæology*:—"Our versification attained such a degree of *perfection* by regular and progressive improvements, that no language, ancient or modern, ever yet attained to: our system includes not only all the varieties of verse that has [have] yet been produced in all known languages, but also a number equally great of such constructed verse as we have neither seen nor heard of in any country or in any tongue; and yet these latter are [illegible] the most beautiful and musical that we have."

Welsh poetry has lines of various length, from four to ten syllables, and stanzas of many different forms[1].

It has already been observed by the late Author that the Fins are said by one of their grammarians to possess an alliterative metre; but it seems probable that this has been borrowed from their Gothic neighbours.

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[1] The best account of the laws of Welsh metre is to be found in Rhees's *Linguæ Cymræcæ Institutiones*, London, 1592. The Irish Grammar in Llwyd's *Archæologia Britannica* may be consulted for those of that language.

ON THE DERIVATION

OF

THE LATER ENGLISH ALLITERATIVE METRES

FROM THE SAXON.

HAVING in the preceding observations attempted to trace the metrical system of the Saxon poets to that early period in which it was the common vehicle of song among the various tribes of the great Teutonic race, it remains to pursue its later fortunes; and thus we shall perceive that the same system which our ancestors brought with them in their war-ships from the banks of the Elbe, in the fifth century, continued, in partial practice at least, among their descendants as late as the sixteenth; extending over a period of more than a thousand years, and not entirely extinguished till the full revival of classical literature had taught the ear, accustomed to purer models, to condemn such recurrences of the same letter as barbarous.

The excellent dissertation of Bishop Percy (prefixed to the 3rd book of vol. ii. of his *Relics of English Poetry*) has indeed in a great degree exhausted this subject, and must be familiar to every reader interested in such inquiries: but in tracing the history of this metrical system during what may be called the period of transition of our language from the middle of the twelfth century, when it ceased to be pure Saxon, to the latter half of the fourteenth, when the English of Chaucer and Wicclif was established, some interesting links may be added to the chain which he has exhibited.

It will be necessary to premise, that throughout the whole period from the eleventh to the sixteenth century the alliterative

metre was practised both in its genuine and ancient form, unattended by rime, and also blended with riming stanzas of various descriptions. We have already seen this tendency to association with rime manifesting itself before the Norman conquest in several of the compositions contained in the Exeter MS. (see above, p. xviii.) In these it may have been derived from the influence of the Danish Scalds; and the new forms of metre subsequently borrowed from the Norman minstrels blended with the same facility with this ancient ornament.

I first propose to give a series of specimens, chronologically arranged, of the unrimed alliterative metre, the genuine descendant of Anglo-Saxon verse; and afterwards to exhibit a few instances of the combination of alliteration with riming stanzas.

The last specimen in the Appendix to this volume affords an example of this metre at the latest period in which our language could be considered as genuine Saxon, and should be referred probably to the earlier part of the reign of Henry II. To the close of that reign the history of our vernacular poetry presents us with the English translation, by the monk Layamon, of Brut, a metrical history of Britain chiefly compiled from the tales of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and originally composed in Norman-French by Wace. Layamon's translation was probably written about 1180: the language is still Saxon, both as to its verbal substance and grammatical forms; still retaining the inflected cases of its nouns, and rejecting the use of prepositions to denote these relations: but its orthography is so much corrupted as already to give it the character of a distinct dialect[1]. The author frequently employs rime, but still more generally retains alliteration, although

[1] The principal grammatical distinctions between the Saxon and Norman English consist in the loss of case and gender by the nouns, and the consequent employment of prepositions to denote the relations of nouns in construction: the verb also having lost the infinitive termination, the preposition *to* is used as the sign of that mood. All these changes were effected before the period of Robert of Brunne, whose Chronicle was probably com-

certainly in a less studied and regular manner than was agreeable to Saxon practice. It is, however, sufficiently obvious and complete

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pleted in 1280: but in Layamon, a century earlier, we find the nouns declined as in Saxon: e. g.

Nominative.	The king.	Sax. Se cyng.
Genitive.	Thas kinges.	Đæs cynges.
Dative.	Than kinge.	Đam cyng.
Accusative.	Than kinge.	Đone cyng.

'Queen' is in like manner declined: e. g.

Nominative.	Tha quene.	Sax. Đeo cwen.
Gen. & Dat.	There quene.	Đære cwene.
Accusative.	Tha quene.	Đa cwen.

Thus also we have 'There hehge cnihtene sunnen,' *The sons of the high knights;* Sax. Đæra heag-cnihta (*or* heag-cnihtena) suna. I cannot, however, find any trace of the Saxon dative plural in 'um.' These examples are all taken from the short extract printed by Mr. Ellis in his Specimens of Early English Poets. It is somewhat amusing to observe the numerous and gross mistakes into which that accomplished and usually accurate scholar has been led in his attempt to interpret these few lines, by his imperfect acquaintance with Saxon. In one place, where the poet relates that the men (wepmen, Sax. wæpmen) sat by themselves at meat, and the women (wifmen) also by themselves; he has made absolute nonsense, by supposing 'wepmen' to be synonymous with 'wifmen,' and translating both *women.*

With reference to the subject of this note, we may add, that the style of the Saxon Chronicle continues tolerably pure till about 1090; that after that year we seldom find the ancient dative plural in 'um' used; 'an' 'en' or 'on' being generally substituted. In other respects, however, the variation (though gradually increasing) is not very striking till the death of Henry I. anno 1135. But the subsequent reign of Stephen is written in a dialect very nearly as corrupt as that of Layamon.

About the same period with Layamon, a volume of metrical Homilies bearing the title '*Ormulum*' was probably composed. It is interesting, as exhibiting a species of blank verse destitute alike of rime and alliteration. The rhythm appears to be that of the common ballad metre,

In summer time when leaves grow green,
And blossoms deck the tree, O,
King Edward would a-hunting ride
Some pastime for to see, O.

The spelling presents the language in its most disguised and corrupted form:

in the following specimen, which relates to the happy state of Britain in the days of Arthur.

(Layamon. About 1180.)

Ðа hafde Æn3lene Ard	THEN had the English earth
ðat Alrebezte hereward;	that most excellent ruler;
and ðis Leodisce volc æc	and the people of this nation also
Leofvest ðan kin3e.	were most beloved by the king.
Ða Wifmen heh3e iboren	Then the women highly born
ða Wuneden a ðissen londe	who dwelt in this land
hafden iQUeðen alle	had all declared.
on heore QUides soðe	on their words' truth
ðat nan Laverd taken nolde	that none would take for her lord
inne ðissere Leode	in this people
Næver Nænne chnit	any knight whomsoever
(Neore he Noht swa well idiht)	(ne were he nought so well dight)
bute he iCostned weoren	except he were tried
ðrie inne Compe,	thrice in the camp,
and his oht Scipen icudde,	and knew how to acquire esteem[1],
and ifonded hine Seolve;	and had proved himself;

Every barbarous and unsightly combination of double letters seems to have been studiously affected.

On the third day it befell	*as some of the gospels declare,*
Uppo ðe ðridde da33 bilammp	swa summ ðe 3oddspell kiðeð,
That in the land of Gallilee	*there was a bridal prepared;*
Ðatt i ðe land off Galile	wass an bridale 3arrkedd;
And it was prepared in a town	*that was Cana named:*
And itt wass 3arrkedd in an tun	ðatt wass Cana 3ehatenn:
And Christ's mother Mary was	*at that bridal's seat,*
And Cristess moderr Mar3e wass	att tatt bridaless sæte,
And Christ was invited to that house	*with his disciples,*
And Crist was clopped till ðatt huss	wið his lerning cnihhtess,
And their wine was drank so	*that there was not then any more.*
And te33re win wass drunken swa ðat tær nass ða na mare.	

Wanley, p. 62.

[1] 'Eht' or 'æht,' *Sax.*

Baldeliche he mitte ðenne ȝa	boldly might he then go
nen him **B**rude:	take to himself a bride:
for ðer **I**lke tuhtle	from this same requirement
cnihtes weoren **O**hte.	knights were esteemed. [ducted,
Ða **W**ifmen **W**el idone,	Then were the women well con-
and ða better bi**W**itene:	and then were the better (people) wise:
ða weoren i **B**rutene	then were in Britain
Blissen inoȝe.	blisses enough.

Towards the close of this century (the twelfth) Giraldus Cambrensis remarks, in his description of Wales, that the English as well as the Welsh employed alliteration in every polished composition (*in omni sermone exquisito*). His English example is

God is to**G**ether
Gammen and wisdom.

Thirteenth century.—To this century we may with certainty refer several compositions in which alliteration is blended with rime,—of which specimens will hereafter be given. In the genuine Saxon metre without rime we find a Romance on the subject of Sir Tristram, of which Mr. Price (who considers it as having better pretensions to be regarded as the composition of Thomas of Erceldoune than the poem attributed to him by Sir Walter Scott) has inserted a specimen in his edition of Warton's *History of English Poetry*, vol. i. p. 187. Its language clearly refers it to this period.

Forði an **A**unter in **E**rde,
Þ**A**ttle to shawe
ðat a **S**elli in **S**ight
Summe men hit holden;
and an **O**utrage **A**wenture,
of **A**rthures wonderes,
if ye wyl **L**ysten this **L**aye
bot on **L**itel quile.

I apprehend that the alliterative romance of Alexander, of which a portion is appended to the magnificent MS. of the *Roman d'Alexandre* preserved in the Bodleian, and another copy appears to be extant in the Ashmole (see Warton's *History of English Poetry*, sect. 10.), belongs to the latter part of this century; and far from being an imitation of the style adopted in the Vision of Piers Plowman, was rather one of its earlier exemplars.

Fourteenth century.—The celebrated composition last mentioned appears to have been written about the middle of this century [1362]. It is sufficiently familiar to antiquarian readers, but I shall transcribe a few lines, dividing them at the cæsural pause, in order to facilitate their metrical comparison with their Saxon prototypes.

Ich **W**ente for**ð** **W**yde
where **W**alkyn**ȝ**e myn one
in a **W**ylde **W**yldernesse
by a **W**ode syde
Blisse of **ð**e **B**riddes
a**B**yde me made,
and under a **L**ynde in a **L**aunde
Lenede ich a stounde
to **L**i**ð**en here **L**aies
and here **L**oveliche notes;
Mur**ð**e of here **M**urye **M**ou**ð**es
Made me to slepe
and **M**erveilousliche me **M**ette
a **M**yddes al **ð**at blisse.

It is obvious that the general principle of the metrical construction in these lines is identical with that of the Scaldic *fornyrdalag* and its Saxon sister; but I think a slight change of rhythm is perceptible. In the Saxon, a trochaic character is predominant. In the vision of Piers Plowman there is a prevailing tendency to an anapæstic cadence; but this has probably arisen not from any in-

tention on the part of the poet, but from the natural tendencies of the dialect in which he wrote. Any one may easily convince himself of this by attempting to write a few lines in modern English on the model of the Saxon metre: he will find himself constantly falling into the same deviations which characterize the above specimen; he will scarcely be able to confine himself to the few syllables of his original, but will lengthen his lines by placing unaccented monosyllables at the beginning; and an anapæstic character will, in spite of his efforts, intrude itself. The causes of this are to be found in the difference of a dialect which possesses inflected cases, and one in which the nouns are indeclinable. In Saxon every monosyllabic root gave rise, by its inflections, to a trochaic foot; but the number of trochaic words in English is comparatively very small, while the great stock of the language is iambic or anapæstic: and, as a second consequence proceeding from the same cause, the necessity of expressing the relations of case by prepositions presses these unemphatic monosyllables into the line, and generally in such positions as (when combined with the use of the article, which the English poet cannot, in the same degree as his Saxon predecessor, dispense with) to increase this anapæstic tendency, and to prevent the due compression of the verse. It is true, indeed, that the licenses above alluded to are frequently found even in the purest Saxon remains; but then in these the quantity of perfect trochaic or adoniac verses is always sufficiently prominent to impart a general and marked character to the whole.

Since the metrical structure and rhythm of all the subsequent compositions in this species of verse till the period of its entire disuse are altogether similar to those of the above extract, and specimens of them may be at once referred to in the well known essay of Bishop Percy, I shall here subjoin merely a chronological list of them.

Piers Plowman's Crede - - - - - -	After 1384.
Christ crowned King, &c.	Cited by Percy about 1420.
Fight of Flodden Field - - - - - - - - -	1513.

Dunbar's Twa Marriit Wemen - - - About 1530.
Scotch Prophecies put together after the accession of James I. of England. 1603.[1]

Of these, I shall only insert a few lines from the conclusion of Dunbar's "Twa Marriit Wemen," as a specimen of this metre in its latest form[2].

WHILE that the **D**ay did up-**D**awn
and **D**ew **D**anked flouris,
the **M**orrow **M**ild was and **M**eek,
the **M**avis did sing,
and all re**M**oved the **M**ist,
and the **M**ead smelled:
silver **SH**ouris down **SH**ook
as the **SH**een cristal,
and birdis **SH**outed in the **SH**aw
with their **SH**rill notis;
the **G**olden **GL**ittering **GL**eam
so **GL**adden'd their heartis,
they made a **GL**orious **GL**ee
among the **G**reen boughis:

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[1] Most of these were probably composed in the Northern counties, since from the following lines of Chaucer it seems to have fallen into desuetude in the Southern districts:—

"But trusteth wel I am a Sotherne man,
I cannot geste rem ram ruf by my letter."

The author of Piers Plowman himself lived on the borders of Shropshire and Worcestershire, and his dialect is strongly tinctured with Northern peculiarities.

[2] This specimen is divested from the strange accumulation of letters which disguised the Scotch orthography at that period, in order to render the elegance of the description more generally perceptible. It will be observed that the alliteration extends through four of the hemistichial divisions, as here printed.

the Soft South of the Swyre[1]
and Sound of the Streamis,
the Sweet Savour of the Sward
and Singing of fowlis,
might Comfort any Creature
of the Kin of Adam,
and Kindle again his Courage
though it were Cold slokned.

The conjoint usage of alliteration and rime may be very briefly discussed. In the first stage of the English language during the thirteenth century it appears to have been extremely prevalent, and is found in many of the compositions cited by Warton as belonging to that epoch; and more especially in those of a decidedly lyrical character. Thus:

ICH was in one Sunnie dale
in one Suwe dizele hale,
i-Herde ich Hold grete tale
an Hule and one niztigale, &c.
(*New Ed.*) v. i. p. 28.

Earliest English Love-song.
ICH-ot a Burde in Boure Bryht
that fully Semly is on Syht,
Menskful Maiden of Myht
Feir ant Fre to Fonde, &c. p. 28.

Another.
ICHOT a Burde in a Bour ase Beryl so Bryht,
ase Saphyr in Selver Semly on Syht, &c. p. 34.

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[1] The south wind blowing softly from the hills?

LENTEN ys come with Love to toune,
with Blosmen ant with Briddes roune,
that al this Blisse Bryngeth;
Dayes ezes in this Dales
Notes suete of Nyhtegales
Uch foul Song Singeth. p. 81.

Many other examples in a great variety of different stanzas may be found on turning to the part of Warton's History of English Poetry above cited. The poetry of Scotland affords similar specimens as late as the sixteenth century.

The above instances depart entirely from the rhythm of the original Saxon, being accommodated to stanzas of Norman construction: but rime was occasionally added to the genuine descendant of that stock, which, from the celebrity of that satire, is usually designated as the metre of Piers Plowman. The Scotch romance of Sir Gawain affords an example of this in the fourteenth century.

IN the tyme of Arthur - an Aunter betydde
by the Tumwathelan - as the boke Telles
whan he to Carlele was Comen - and Conqueror kydd
with Dukes and Dussiperes - that with the Dere Dwelles
to Hunt at the Herdes - that longe had ben Hydde
on a Day thei hem Deight - to the Depe Delles
to Fall of the Femailes - in Forest and Frydde
Fayre by the Firmysthamis - in Frithes and Felles
thus to Wode arn thei Went - the Wlonkest in Wedes
both the Kyng and the Kwene
and all the Douchti by Dene
sir Gawayn Gayest on Grene
dame Gaynour he ledes.

The satire on the reformation under Edward VI. exhibits a similar metrical arrangement in the middle of the sixteenth century.

In **D**ecember, when the **D**ayes - **D**raw to be short,
after **N**ovember, when the **N**ights - wax **N**oysome and long,
as I **P**ast by a **P**lace - **P**rivily at a **P**ort
I **S**aw one **S**it by himself - making a **S**ong.

Percy's Reliques, ii. 134.

ARRANGED CATALOGUE

OF

ALL THE EXTANT RELICS

OF

ANGLO-SAXON POETRY

*** THE Editor has annexed the following Catalogue, in the belief that it must contribute to the interest and utility of the present work, as an introductory manual to the study of Anglo-Saxon poetry, to place before its readers a synoptical view of all the materials which time has spared in this department of literature. For this purpose a classification according to the subjects of the several poems appeared to afford the most convenient arrangement. From a survey of this list it will be seen that specimens of every style have been introduced in these Illustrations, and that no important work has been left without due notice.

Full and complete critical editions of the whole of these remains, with translations, are yet indeed desiderata in our literature; and it is perhaps scarcely creditable to our national feeling that these monuments of the parent speech of Englishmen should so long have been neglected; while in most continental states similar remains, in no degree of superior interest, have been presented to the public with every requisite illustration. But a better spirit appears to be now arising. While these pages have been passing through the press, an edition of Beowulf has been promised, by a writer who in his republication of Warton's History of English Poetry has proved that the philological antiquary will find nothing

wanting in any work which he may undertake. An edition, with a translation, of Alfred's Boethius has been still more recently announced; and the Editor of these pages hopes shortly to bring the Cædmonian paraphrase in a similar manner before the public. The whole of the Exeter Manuscript, together with the remaining minor poetry of the Saxons, might easily be comprised in another single volume; and if this were accomplished, their entire *corpus poeticum* would be rendered generally accessible. The wishes of a Southey for such a consummation have been recently and warmly expressed; and such wishes are always likely to promote their own realization. If the present work may (by rendering the subject more familiar to the reading public) contribute in any degree to the same end, its purpose will be sufficiently answered.

I. Narrative Poetry, derived from Historical or Traditional Sources.

The History of Beowulf. MS. Cotton. Vitellius A. 15. Printed with Latin translation and notes by Thorkelin. Copenhagen, 1815. Analysed in the present volume, p. 30.

Fragment on the Battle of Finsborough. MS. Lambeth. Printed by Hickes in Thes. Lingg. Septt., without translation. With translation in the present volume, p. 173. The original MS. appears to be now mislaid.

Fragment on the Death of Beorhtnoth. MS. Cotton. Otho A. 12. Printed by Hearne in the Appendix to his edition of *Johannis confratris Glastoniensis Chronicon*, without translation. A translation is subjoined to the present Catalogue. The original MS. perished in the fire which consumed a part of this collection.

*** The allusions contained in one of the poems of the Exeter MS. (see p. 235 of this volume) to the stories of Weland and of

Theoderic of Berne, render it probable that these heroes of the Edda and of the cyclus of Teutonic romance, were also celebrated in Saxon poetry.

The slaughter of the dragon by Sigurdr, or Sigmund, another cardinal event in that cyclus, is also alluded to in Beowulf in a manner which shows it to have been familiar.

Chaucer enumerates the adventures of Wade and his boat, a fiction also of the same school (see Wilkina Saga), among the romances of price: so that we have probably lost a Saxon poem on this subject.

The romance of Horn Childe, published by Ritson in his collection, is evidently derived from a Saxon original (see p. 237 of the present work). And the same remark may be extended to the romance of Haveloke (long supposed to be lost, but recently discovered by Mr. Madden among the MS. stores of the Bodleian), and to that of Attla king of East Anglia.

II. Narrative Poetry derived from Scriptural Sources.

The History of Judith, a fragment. MS. Cotton. Vitellius A. 15. Printed at the close of Thwaites's edition of the Saxon Heptateuch. Oxon 1699, without a translation. Turner (History of the Anglo-Saxons) has translated several specimens, amounting to about one half the composition. He justly observes, that as the outline only of the story is borrowed, it deserves to rank as an original narrative poem.

Paraphrase of Genesis, the Exodus, the History of Daniel, &c. ascribed to Cædmon. MS. Bibl. Bodl. Junius 11. Printed by Junius, Amsterdam, 1655, without translation. For an account and specimens of this work, see p. 183 of the present volume [1].

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[1] The Editor of this volume is now engaged in preparing a new edition with a translation and notes.

III. Narrative Poetry founded on the Lives of Saints.

Life and Passion of St. Juliana. Exeter MS. Book VII. Never published.

Visions of the Hermit Guthlac. Exeter MS. Books IV. and V. Never published.

IV. Hymns and other minor Sacred Poems.

A great part of the Exeter MS. consists of poetry of this description, which may more properly be classed as poetical reflections on various sacred subjects than as hymns, in the strict sense of that word. These compositions have never been published; but some specimens are inserted in the present volume. See account of the Exeter MS. p. 198, &c.

The Cotton. MS. Julius A. 2. contains some metrical prayers printed by Junius at the close of his edition of the Cædmonian paraphrase. Others are found, Corpus Christi Cant. S. 18. printed in Wanley's Catalogue [1], p. 147.

Metrical paraphrases of the Lord's Prayer, &c. occur in the following MSS.—Bibl. Bodl. Junius 121. printed in Wanley's Catalogue, p. 48 (together with the Creed); and Corpus Christi Cant. S. 18. printed in Wanley's Catalogue, p. 147 (together with doxology); also in Book X. of the Exeter MS. not printed. Another metrical version of the doxology has been printed by Hickes (*Sax. Gramm. Thes. Lingg. Septt.* t. i. p. 179) from the MS. cited at the head of this article (Junius 121), which formerly belonged to the church of Worcester.

A Poem on the Fasts of the Church, in which they are historically deduced from Jewish institution. Cotton. MSS. Otho B. 2. Not printed.

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[1] One of these affords the mixture of Latin and Saxon verses quoted in the Introductory Essay on Saxon Metre, p. ix.

A Poem on the Day of Judgement, translated from Bede[1]. MSS. of Corpus Christi Cant. S. 18 (before referred to for prayers).

V. Odes and Epitaphs.

*** The Saxon Chronicle contains the only specimens which can be referred to these classes: these are all printed from several MSS. in the late edition of that inestimable document by Ingram —London, 1823, and are as follow.

Ode on the Battle of Brunanburh. A.D. 938. p. 141.[2]

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[1] The first lines of this translation merit insertion, as affording a very favourable specimen of the descriptive powers of Saxon poetry.

Hwæt in ana sæt	Thus in a solitary seat
Innan bearwe	Within a bower
Mid helme beðeht	Overspread with elms
Holte to middes,	In the midst of a wood,
Ðær ða wæter burnan	Where the water brooks
Swegdon and urnon	Murmured and ran
On middan gehæge,	Through the midst of the enclosure,
Eal swa ic secge;	[It befel me] even as I relate;
Eac ðer wyn wyrta	There also the flowers of delight
Weoxon and bleowon,	Grew and blossomed,
Innon ðam gemonge	Scattered around
On ænlicum wonge;	Through that beauteous plain;
And ða wudu beamas	But then the branches of the wood
Wagedon and swegdon	Waved and rustled
Ðurh winda gryne;	Through the windy blast;
Wolcn wæs gehrered,	The sky was disturbed,
And min earme mod	And my saddened soul
Eal wæs gedrefed.	Was all agitated.

These lines contain an expansion of the following distich of Bede:

Inter florigeras fœcundi cespitis herbas,
Flamine ventorum resonantibus undique ramis.

[2] This very interesting composition has been repeatedly translated:—by Henry of Huntingdon and Gibson, into Latin; by Warton, from Gibson's Latin into English; and from the original Saxon into that language by Turner

Ode on the Victories of Edmund Ætheling. A.D. 942. p. 146.[1]
Ode on the Coronation of King Edgar. A.D. 973. p. 158.
Elegy on the Death of King Edgar. A.D. 975. p. 160.
Elegy on the Death of King Edward. A.D. 1065. p. 255.

VI. Elegiac Poetry.

The Exile's Complaint in the Exeter MS., printed in this volume, p. 224, affords the only specimen approaching to the character of the Elegiac ballad.

Many of the Metres of Boethius translated by Alfred (MSS. Cott. Otho A. 6. printed by Rawlinson, 1698) are of the Elegiac class. See a specimen in this volume, p. 260.

VII. Moral and Didactic Poetry.

The Boethian Metres translated by Alfred (see last article) afford examples of these styles. Specimens are given in p. 263, &c. of the present volume.

(*History of the Anglo-Saxons*); Ingram (*Saxon Chronicle*); and Bosworth (*Saxon Grammar*). But the most recent and by far the most accurate version is that of Mr. Price, inserted in his late edition of Warton's *History of English Poetry*: this is illustrated by a very valuable critical apparatus of philological notes. Henshall also furnished what he calls a translation to Mr. Ellis's *Specimens of Early English Poets*; but this, being constructed according to the very whimsical views of etymology entertained by that antiquary, exhibits much such a reflection of the original as the distorting mirrors employed in optical experiments present of natural objects: almost every word is grossly mistranslated. The metrical version, however, which is inserted in the same collection, of this poem into old English of the fourteenth century, is generally accurate, and may be cited as a striking example of successful imitation, not of the language only, but of the style and inequalities of composition which marked our poetry in the age of Chaucer.

[1] The character of king Edwy (p. 151), though printed metrically in Mr. Ingram's edition, appears to the present writer entirely destitute of every feature of Anglo-Saxon poetry. The same observation applies to the re-

The Gnomic Poems in Book IX. of the Exeter MS. (see the account of that MS. p. 204, &c. of this volume) may be classed here. Also the following.

The Address of the Departed Soul to the Body. Exeter MS. Book X. See p. 232 of this volume.

The Poem on Death. Bibl. Bodl. NE. F. 4. 12. Extracted in this volume, p. 270.

The Allegorical Poem on the Phœnix, forming Book VI. of the Exeter MS. (see p. 224 of this volume): and the similar Allegories on the Panther and Whale at the close of Book IX. of that MS. (analysed p. 207, 208.)

The Proverbs of Alfred. MSS. Cott. Galba A. XIX. This, however, is a corrupt and modernized version of Richard the First's time. Printed in Spelman's Life of Alfred.

VIII. Miscellaneous.

Song of the Traveller. Exeter MS. Book IX. Printed in the present volume, p. 9, &c.

Dialogue of Solomon and Saturnus[1]. MSS. of Corpus Christi College,

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flections on the capture of archbishop Ælphage by the Danes (p. 188), and to the paragraph relating to the imprisonment of Ælfred Ætheling by Godwin (p. 208). The appearances of rime which occur in this last composition seem accidental; and, as will be seen on reference to the passage in question, are often produced by an arbitrary division in the middle of words adopted by the editor: e.g.

Nu is to ȝelyfanne
To ðan leofan
Gode. ðæt hi blissi-
-on bliðe mid Criste.

[1] The Editor has not himself enjoyed an opportunity of consulting the Cambridge MSS.; but they appear to belong to the class of traditional stories concerning the interchange of questions and solutions on points of abstruse science,

Cambridge, S. 16. mixed with Runic characters. A shorter piece on the same subject occurs in the same collection of MSS. S. 2; and a prose version is among the Cotton MSS. Vitellius A. 15.

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supposed to have taken place between the Wisest of Kings and those who endeavoured to examine or profit by the depth of his knowledge. These stories, derived probably from the authentic statement of the visit of the queen of Sheba, were current in the East before the Christian æra. Josephus mentions an intercourse of this kind as having subsisted between Solomon and Hiram king of Tyre, who was assisted by a youth named Abdæmon, or, according to others, by Abdimus the son of Abdæmon. Menander, a translator of Tyrian antiquities from Phœnician into Greek, and Dion are cited by Josephus as his authorities for these tales. They appear to have become subsequently very widely diffused under many different forms: one of these, —in which Solomon is represented as holding discourse with Marculfus or Morolf, a deformed and Æsop-like dwarf, and his wife,—became extensively popular in Europe during the middle ages. It is alluded to by William of Tyre in the twelfth century, and many versions of it are extant both in the Latin and German languages. The Saxon compositions cited in the text preserve probably a somewhat earlier modification of a fiction similar in substance: in these the interrogator is named Saturnus. Wanley (*Catalogue*, p. 114) thus quotes the commencement of the copy extant in S. 2. of the Corpus Christi MSS., which appears to be an extract only:

Saturnus cwæð,	Saturnus quoth,
Hwæt ic iglanda	Thus have I
Eallra hæbbe	Of all the islands
Boca on byrged;	Tasted [studied] the books;
Ðurh gebregð stafas,	Through the art of letters,
Lar cræftas onlocen	To examine the learned skill
Libia and Greca,	Of the Libyans and Greeks,
Swylce eac istoriam	And likewise the history
Indea rices;	Of the Indian kingdom;
Me ða treahteras	The interpreters
Tala wisedon	Have instructed me in these tales
On ðam micelan bec.	In the great book.
. . . . .	

The Editor has received, through the kindness of Mr. Shelford of Corpus Christi College (Cambridge), a transcript from a portion of the MS. of the

Ænigmatical Poems. Exeter MS. Book X. See p. 219 of this volume.

Poetical explanation of the characters of the Runic alphabet, printed by Hickes (*Thes. Lingg. Septt.* t. i. p. 135) without translation: also recently on the continent with a German translation, which is very incorrect, in Grimm's treatise on Runic letters. Cotton MSS. Otho B. X.—Each Runic letter has a significant name: thus H stands for hail, S for sail, &c. The various objects which thus give denomination to the characters are each in the poem described in a sepa-

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dialogue of Solomon and Saturnus contained in the red book of Derby. He is thus enabled to lay before the reader the following specimen from that MS.

Salomon cwæð,	Solomon quoth,
Lytle hwile	A little while
Leaf beoð grene;	Shall the leaf be green;
Ðoñ hit eft fealewiað,	Then eftsoons it groweth yellow,
Fealleð oñ eorðan,	It falleth on the earth,
And forweorniað,	Decayeth,
Weorðaþ to duste:	And turneth to dust:
Swa ðoñ gefeallath	Even thus fall
Dæðe fyrene,	The wicked in death,
Ær lange læsteð;	Ere they long endure; [crimes
Lisiað him in mane	They heap up to themselves by
Hydaþ heah gestreon,	And conceal mighty treasures,
Healdaþ georne	They greedily preserve them
On fæstenne,	In their secure recesses,
Feondum towillan;	According to the will of the fiends;
And wenaþ, wanhogan,	And yet ween, destitute of reflection,
Ðæt hie wille Wuldor-Cining	That the King of Glory
Ælmihtig God	The Almighty God
Ece gehiran.	The Eternal will listen to them.

The prose version (Cotton MSS. A. Vitellius XV.) begins thus: "Then quoth Saturnus to Solomon, 'Declare to me where God sat when he wrought the heavens and the earth.' 'I answer thee—He sat over the wings of the winds.'" A series of questions concerning the six days of creation follow. We here learn many curious particulars concerning the formation of Adam. His name, it appears, was derived from the four angels, Archox, Dux, Aro-

rate stanza; some of which are very obscure. It is evident that the Runes intermixed in several Saxon MSS. (*e. g.* the Exeter MS., Beowulf, &c.) are used not as alphabetical letters, but as monographs denoting entire words.

Poem on the Site of Durham, and Relics preserved there. MSS. Cotton. Vitellius D. 20. Printed by Hickes, *Thes. Lingg. Septl.* t. i. p. 178.

Metrical Prefaces, &c. to various works: viz. to Alfred's Boethius (Cott. Otho A. 6. printed in this volume, p. 257); to Alfred's Version of Gregory De Curâ Pastorali (Bibl. Bodl. Hatton 88. printed

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cholem, and Minsymbrie. His essence was compounded of eight ingredients, one pound of each being taken: viz. earth for his flesh, fire for the heat of his blood, wind for his breath, cloud for the fickleness of his disposition, grace for his reason, blossoms for the various colours of his eyes, dew for his sweat, and salt for his tears. We are also told of what age he was at his creation; how many inches tall; how many years he spent in Paradise before his fall; and for how many after his death he was sentenced to remain in infernal punishments. A variety of questions with regard to the chronology of the lives of the patriarchs, &c. are then disposed of: in the course of which we are told that the names of the wives of Noah, Cham, and Japhet, were Dalila, Itareata, and Catafluvia; or, according to others, Olla, Ollina, and Ollibania. The tears shed by Moses when he threw the broken tables of the law into the sea are assigned as the reason why it has remained salt ever since. It is mentioned, *en passant*, that the sun rises at a city named Iaiaca, and sets at another called Garita. Much of this matter savours strongly of rabbinical origin; yet some allusions to the Virgin and the Apostles indicate a Christian author.

It would be important to compare this MS. with that of Corpus Christi S. 16; for since Runic characters are intermingled as monographs in the latter, the collation would probably enable us to ascertain the exact value and force of those characters when so employed, and assist in deciphering the passages in the Exeter MS. in which they are in like manner introduced.

With reference to the subject of this note, we may further observe that the answers of Sidrac the philosopher to the questions of king Boccus on various theological, metaphysical, and physical topics,—a favourite composition in the middle ages,—exhibit a close parallel, both in matter and structure, to these dialogues of Solomon, though the interlocutors are different.

in Wanley's Cat. p. 70); to a treatise ascribed to St. Basil (Bibl. Bodl. Hatton. 100. printed in Wanley's Cat. p. 72); to Aldhelm De Laude Virginum (MSS. Corpus Christi Cant. K. 12. Wanley's Cat. p. 110); Address of transcriber of Bede's History to reader (Corpus Christi Cant. S 2. Wanley's Cat. p. 114); Prayer for transcriber of Decretals (MSS. Cott. Claud. A. 3. Wanl. Cat. p. 226).

Saxon Calendar. MSS. Cotton. Tib. B. I. Printed by Hickes, *Thes. Lingg. Septt.* t. i. p. 203.

*** With regard to the chronological arrangement of these remains, little can be offered.

The Hymn of Cædmon, preserved in Alfred's translation of Bede's History, must be dated about 670. The question as to the antiquity of the Biblical Paraphrase, ascribed to the same author by Junius, is discussed at p. 183.

The Dying Hymn of Bede is to be referred to the year 735.

The Ælfredian version of Boethius must have been written before 901.

The poetry in the Saxon Chronicle assignable to the various dates annexed to the respective compositions in this Catalogue, between 934 and 1065.

The Poem on the Death of Byrhtnoth seems to have been written soon after the event which took place—991.

The other compositions afford no probable criterion for determining their age; and the language and style of the earliest specimen of Saxon poetry, the Hymn of Cædmon, resembles so closely those of the latest specimens that no evidence which deserves reliance can be deduced from that source.

THE DEATH OF BYRHTNOTH[1],

A FRAGMENT.

THE Editor is induced to append a translation of this fragment as a note to the preceding Catalogue, because he conceives its merit to be such as to render any collection of Saxon poetry imperfect in which it should not be included, and because these Illustrations contain no other adequate example of the attempts of our Saxon writers to paint the pomp and circumstance of war; for the fragment on the Fight of Finsburgh is too brief and mutilated to afford a fair specimen for that purpose.

He has not inserted the original Saxon, in the understanding that it is the intention of Mr. Price (to whose kindness he is indebted for the transcript whence the following version is made) to publish it critically in the work on Saxon Poetry which he has announced in his very valuable Edition of Warton's History of English Poetry. The learning and acuteness of that able philologist and antiquary will doubtless clear away the difficulties which have in a few instances reduced the present translator to the necessity of circuitous and conjectural interpretation.

The poem itself is remarkably free from the tautology and repetitions which too often impart a feeble and puerile character to the compositions of our Saxon writers; and the language, while remote from the inflation and turgidity to which a false taste sometimes seduced them, frequently presents poetical phrases and figures of considerable happiness and effect: such as when speaking of the clash of arms it is said, "the hauberk sang a song of terrors." This relic, which is unfortunately a fragment only, mutilated both at the beginning and conclusion, forms a portion of an historical poem cele-

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[1] The name (like most Saxon appellatives) is variously spelt. In the poem it stands as Byrhtnoth, which I have usually followed. The Ely Chronicle reads Brithnoth, as does the Saxon Chronicle. And Beorhtnoth is found in other authorities.

brating the warlike exploits and death of Byrhtnoth, alderman of Northumbria, in an engagement against the Danish invaders, A.D. 991. It constitutes a battle-piece of spirited execution, mixed with short speeches from the principal warriors, conceived with much force, variety, and character: the death of the hero is also very graphically described. The whole approximates much more nearly than could have been expected, in the general features of its composition, to the war-scenes of Homer. If names like Byrhtnoth and Godric could be substituted for Patroclus and Menelaus, it might be almost literally translated into a cento of lines from the great father and fountain of poetry; and, as it is, it reads very like a version from one of the military narratives of the Iliad, excepting its want of the characteristic similes[1]. The hero Byrhtnoth is mentioned at length in the chronicles of the church of Ely, to which he had been a very considerable benefactor, a topic of eulogy much insisted upon in these monastic records, and which may possibly also account for his name having thus escaped the list said to be buried in the night of oblivion—*carent quia Vate Sacro;* hence, perhaps, we may suspect that a cowl covered the head of our unknown poet, and that his lines were written in one of those *scriptoria* of which our antiquaries still admire the delightful and inspiring situation among the recesses and long-drawn vaults of the cloister's studious pale in our conventual ruins.

I subjoin the narrative of the Chronicler as a useful illustration, although it does not entirely agree in its circumstances with those of the poem.

"This Brithnoth was the noblest and bravest chief of the Northumbrians. He was eloquent in speech, of robust strength, and of commanding stature; ever alert in military exploits against the enemies of the realm, and even above measure animated by a courageous disdain of danger and of death; and *above all he honoured the holy church and its ministers, and applied to their use the whole of his patrimony:* but he devoted his life, through its entire course, to the defence of the liberties of his country; being wholly engrossed with the desire rather to die than suffer a single injury offered to his native land to pass unrevenged: for in that age frequent irruptions of the Danish pirates, disembarking on different points of the coast, heavily afflicted England; and all the chieftains of the neighbouring provinces, relying on the known loyalty and fidelity of Brithnoth, had pledged themselves to serve beneath his victorious banner; conceiving that, under such a general, the public defence against the enemy would be more securely established. When, therefore, at a certain time

[1] It may be more particularly compared with the battle in which Patroclus fell.—Iliad II. and P.

they had effected a secret landing at Meldon[1], he advanced to the spot with an armed force at the first intelligence, and put nearly all to the sword upon a bridge across the river; but a few having with difficulty escaped to their ships, carried back the news to their own country. And when Brithnoth after his victory had speedily returned to Northumberland, the Danes, incensed to the last degree at the tidings, refitted their fleet, and sent a second expedition, under Anna and Gutmund the son of Stettan, to Meldon, to revenge the slaughter of their first army. Having gained the port, when they had learnt that Brithnoth had been the author of their former defeat, they sent to inform him that they had landed in order to avenge it, and that they should rank him among cowards if he declined an engagement. Incited to indignation at the message, Brithnoth again collected his former comrades, and, led on by the hope of victory and an over confidence, marched with but few followers to the war; hurrying forwards, lest his delay should enable the invaders to occupy a single foot's breadth of the country. Thus, having first commended himself to the prayers of the holy brethren, he hastened to the presence of the enemy; and immediately on his arrival, undeterred by the small numbers of his own troops, and undaunted by their great superiority, he commenced his attack. At length on the last day of the series of combats which ensued, he anticipated, from the scanty relics of his forces, his own approaching death; yet he maintained the fight with undiminished resolution, and, after an immense slaughter of the enemy, had nearly put them to a complete rout; but at last, animated by the paucity of his followers, they rallied, and, forming a solid wedge, rushed with their whole mass against him, and, after great efforts, cut off his head in the fight; which, on their retreat thence, they carried back with them into their own country. But the abbot of Ely, on learning the issue of the battle, proceeded to the field, and having discovered his body, had it borne to his church, and there honourably interred, replacing the head by a round mass of wax. Long after in these our days, the corpse was recognised by this indication, and placed among the other benefactors of the monastery with due honours. This pious and brave warrior flourished in the reigns of Edgar, Edward the Martyr, and Ethelred, and died in the thirteenth year of the last monarch, 991 from the incarnation of our Lord."

The original poem contains 690 lines. I have omitted in my translation the first 30 of these, which, from the mutilation of the beginning of the frag-

[1] 'Mældune,' *Chron. Sax.* Maldon in Essex is considered as having been the scene of action.

ment, are rendered in some places obscure, as containing allusions to circumstances which do not appear in the remaining part of the narrative.

Translation of the Fragment.

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THEN Byrhtnoth began to train his bands: he instructed the warriors in their array and discipline, how they should stand, how guide their steeds: he bade that they should hold their shields right forward with firm grasp, and should not fear ought. Soon as he had arrayed his eager troops, he alighted amid his favourite band, the retainers of his household, whom he knew the most faithful of all.

Meanwhile, the herald of the Vikings stood in his station: stoutly he called forth; and, advancing opposite, spake in these words to proclaim the threatenings of the pirate host, their embassy to the earl:—"The seamen bold send me to thee; they bid me say that thou must deliver to them forthwith thy treasures for thy safety[1]: better is it for you that ye should buy off this warfare with tribute than that we should wage so hard a conflict. It boots not that we should slay each other: if ye will assent to this, we will ratify a peace with gold. If thou who art the chieftain assentest to this counsel, so mayst thou preserve thy people by giving to the men of the sea even at their own arbitration, treasures for their friendship, and obtain peace from us: then will we with our booty repair again to our ships, and hold truce with you."

Byrhtnoth spake. He upraised his buckler, he shook his slender javelin; stern and resolute he uttered his words, and gave him answer:—"Hear, thou mariner, what this people sayeth: they will for tribute bestow on you their weapons—the edge of their spears, their ancient swords, and arms of war, which shall not avail you in the fight. Herald of the men of ocean! deliver to thy people a message in return—a declaration of high indignation. Say that here stand undaunted an earl with his retainers, who will defend this land, the domain of my sovereign Ethelred, his people, and his territory; and the heathen shall perish in the conflict. I deem it too dastardly that ye should retire with your booty to your ships without joining in battle, since ye have advanced thus far into our land, nor shall ye so softly win our treasures;

[1] The Saxon Chronicle informs us that in this year (991) the practice of buying off these piratical enemies by tribute was first adopted.

but point and edge shall first determine between us in the grim game of war ere we give you tribute."

He bade them seize their shields, and the warriors to march till all stood by the side of the æstuary; but the hosts could not engage with each other for the water, since the flood had come flowing in after the ebb, and the streaming tide separated them; they thought the interval too long before they might mingle their weapons together: the army of the East-Saxons and the host of the ashen ship begirt with their throngs the river, nor could any of them wound his enemy unless through the arrow's flight he achieved his fall: the flood retired; then stood there ready many Vikings of the fleet, eager for the fight. Then the chief, the defence of his soldiers, commanded a warrior hardy in battle and prompt in spirit, to establish a bridge[1]: his name was Wulfstan; he was the son of Ceola; he with his franca[2] shot the foremost man that with the most courage stept upon the bridge. With Wulfstan stood two dauntless champions, Ælfere and Maccus, both high-souled warriors; they would not turn in flight from the ford, but resolutely defended it against the foe so long as they might wield their weapons. At length they perceived and beheld with joy that "the beams of the bridge were firmly placed[3]."

Then began the invading host to move: they gave orders to advance, to cross the ford, and lead their troops onwards. The earl meanwhile, in the haughtiness of his soul, yielded free permission to many of the hostile bands to gain the land unmolested. And thus did the son of Byrhthelm shout across the cold river:—"Warriors, listen! Free space is allowed you: come then speedily over to us: advance as men to the battle: God alone can know which of us is destined to remain masters of the field of slaughter."

Then the wolves of slaughter advanced across the waters; unimpeded the host of the Vikings passed over the river and its clear stream; the seamen carried their shields to the land, and bore their linden bucklers: there against these fierce ones Byrhtnoth with his warriors stood prepared: he bade his

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[1] "To establish a bridge," bricge healdan; literally, to defend the bridge: but, if I understand the narrative correctly, Wulfstan appears to have been commissioned to cover the construction of a bridge for the passage of the Danish army across the æstuary, as soon as the ebb of the tide rendered such a work practicable. The æstuary of the river Blackwater at Maldon in Essex appears to have been the scene of action.

[2] Franca is evidently the name of a sort of javelin. It occurs also in the Cædmonian paraphrase.

[3] I have thus translated 'ðat hi ðær bricge-weandas bitone fundon;' but I suspect an error in the transcript.

band raise with the shields the fence of war, and maintain themselves firmly against their enemies.

The conflict then drew nigh—*the glory of the chieftains*[1]. The hour was come when the fated warriors should fall. Shouts arose—the ravens congregated—and the eagle greedy of its food—a cry was on the earth. They darted from their hands many a stout spear—the sharpened arrows flew—the bows were busy—the buckler received the weapon's point—bitter was the fight—warriors fell on either side—the youths lay slain.

Wulfmær was wounded—he sought rest from the battle: the kinsman of Byrhtnoth, his sister's son, was severely mangled with the battle-axe; but for this, fit recompense was returned to the Vikings. I heard that Edward slew Anna with his stout sword; he stinted not his blow till the fated warrior fell at his feet: for this his chief conferred thanks on his chamberlain, whom he retained in his lodge[2]. So clamoured, stern of mind, the youths in the conflict; anxious were they who might first take life from the death-doomed foes, and prove his weapons in the fight. The carnage fell on the earth, yet stood they steadfast. Byrhtnoth arrayed them: he bade that each youth who would victoriously fight against the Danes should bend his soul to the war.

Then the [Danish] chieftain raised up his weapon, his buckler for his defence, and stept forth against that lord. The earl with equal eagerness advanced against the carl; either meditated evil against the other. The sea chief then sped a southern[3] dart, so that the lord of the army was wounded: he manœuvred with his shield that the shaft burst, and the spear sprang back and recoiled: the chief was incensed, and pierced with his dart the exulting Viking who had given him that wound. Skilful was the hero: he caused his franca to traverse the neck of the youth: he directed his hand so that with sudden destruction he might reach his life: then speedily he shot off another so that his mail was pierced, and he was wounded in the breast through its ringed chains; and the javelin's point stood in his heart. Then was the earl blithe: the stern warrior laughed, and uttered thanks to his Creator for the work of that day which the Lord had given him.

But then some one of the enemies let fly a dart from his hand, which

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[1] The original is 'ða wæs fohte neh . tir æt ȝetohte.' The concluding phrase occurs also in Judith, p. 24. l. 19: 'Ge dom aȝon . tir æt tohtan.' I have adopted Lye's explanation of 'tohta,' but I am not satisfied with it.

[2] 'ðam burðene ða he byre hæfde.'

[3] 'Suðerne ȝar.' I cannot comprehend the reason of this epithet.

transfixed the noble thane of Ethelred: there stood by his side a youth not fully grown, a boy in the field, the son of Wulfstan, Wulfmær the young; he eagerly plucked from the chief the bloody weapon, and sent it to speed again on its destructive journey: the dart passed on till it laid on the earth him who had too surely reached his lord.

Then a treacherous soldier approached the earl to plunder from the chieftain his gems, his vestments, and his rings, and his ornamented sword; but Byrhtnoth drew from its sheath his battle-axe, broad and brown of edge, and smote him on his corslet: very eagerly the pirate left him, when he felt the force of the chieftain's arm. But at that moment his large hilted sword drooped to the earth—he could no longer hold his hard glaive, nor wield his weapon; yet the hoary warrior still endeavoured to utter his commands: he bade the warlike youths, his brave companions, march forwards Then might he no longer stand firmly on his feet.

He looked to heaven.—"I thank thee, Lord of the nations, for all the prosperity which I have experienced on earth: now have I, O mild Creator, the utmost need that thou shouldest grant grace to my spirit, that my soul may proceed to thee, into thy keeping, O Lord of angels, that it may take its departure in peace. I am a suppliant to thee that the destruction of hell may not overwhelm it."

Then the heathen bands mangled his corse, and with him both the youths that stood by his side, Ælfnoth and Wulfmær; for both fell, and sold their lives on the fallen body of their lord. Then fled from the fight those that durst no longer abide. Godric, son of Odda, was foremost to desert the battle and that good lord who had often bestowed on him many a field; for he had ever shared the possessions which his chieftain owned * * *[1]. Yet though it were thus, ignominious he fled, and his brother with him, both Godric and Godwy withdrew; they maintained not the fight, they hurried from the conflict, they sought the woods, they fled to the fortress, they sheltered their lives * * * *[2]. It had indeed been some credit to them to have then remembered all the benefits which he in bounty had conferred upon them; but, as Offa reminded them on a former day when he had met them in the hall of council, "many there spoke boldly, who durst not abide in peril."

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[1] 'He ȝeleop ðone eoh . ðe ahte his hlaford . on ðam ȝerædum.' I have omitted the last line, and doubt my construction of the two former.

[2] 'Hyra feore burgon . *and manna maðon* . hit ænig mæð were . ȝif hi ða ȝearnunga . ealle ȝemundon . ðe he him to duȝoðe . ȝedon hæfde.' I have omitted in the translation the line in italics, and place it here with the context that the whole passage may be subjected to the revision of any reader acquainted with the language.

Thus did the chieftain of the host, the earl of the royal Ethelred, fall, and all his domestic retainers beheld their lord lying a corpse; yet without delay those brave vassals and dauntless warriors stept eagerly forwards; all but those twain desired either to avenge their beloved leader or to lose their lives.

To this Alfwine, a warrior young in years, encouraged them: speaking these words, the son of Alfric gave utterance to his bold spirit:—"Let us now remember the seasons when we heretofore conversed over our mead-cups, and our warriors, assembled in the hall, raised their boast around the benches. Now in the fierce conflict it may well be seen who is truly brave: there will I before you all give proof of my noble blood, that I am sprung from a high Mercian race.—Ealhelm was the progenitor of my ancestry named; a skilful chief was he, and prosperous in the world; nor shall the thanes of this people reproach me that I sought a shelter from the conflict, now that my chieftain lieth mangled in the fight—to me the heaviest of afflictions—for he was both my kinsman and my lord." Then stept he forth: he meditated vengeance, and strove to reach with his spear some one of the sea-faring host, and lay him prostrate on the field with his weapon, when he had thus cheered his friends and comrades.

Then spake Offa, and shook his ashen shaft:—"How seasonably, O Alfwine, hast thou exhorted all our warriors now our chieftain lieth low—our earl on the earth: needful is it for all that each of us should animate every fellow warrior to maintain the conflict so long as he may keep and hold his weapons, his hard battle-axe, his dart, and his good sword. Godric the coward son of Odda hath betrayed all of us; for many a man mistakes his flight (since he rode on so spirited a courser in the fight) as though it had been our lord: and therefore is our host dispersed here over the field, and the line of their shields broken: pernicious is his example, so many hath it turned to flight."

Leofsuna spake, and raised up his linden buckler of defence: he answered that warrior—"I give thee my pledge that I will not fly one footstep hence; but forwards will I advance, to avenge in the fight my beloved chief. It shall not need that the steadfast warriors should reproach me in their discourse for my *unsteadiness*; that now my lord hath fallen I should flee homewards chieftainless from the fight; but the weapons, the edge, and the iron, shall receive me." He rushed forth full of rage; firmly he fought; he disdained flight.

Dunnere spake: no sluggish carl was he; he brandished his dart, he shouted loudly over all the host, he bade that every warrior should avenge Byrhtnoth: "That man," said he, "may not quail nor be solicitous for his life that thinketh to avenge his lord among the people."

Then rushed they forth: they recked not for their lives: stoutly began the vassal train to fight; wrathfully bearing their weapons, they supplicated God that they might avenge their beloved chief, and wreak their fury on their foemen. An *hostage*[1] (escaped from the enemy) fiercely essayed to aid them. He was of an hardy race among the Northumbrians, the son of Ecglafe, Æscferth was his name. He quailed not in the game of war; he poured forth his arrows abundantly: sometimes he shot on the buckler, sometimes he pierced the warrior; he ever hovered around them, and sore wounds did he deal so long as he could wield his weapons.

Then yet stood in the array Edward the tall chief, prompt and strenuous: he vowed in haughty words "that he would not yield a foot's breadth of earth, nor turn his back in flight, since his superior lay dead." He broke through the wall of shields, and fought against the foe until he had worthily avenged his lord, liberal in largess, on the men of the sea before he himself fell among the slaughtered. The same did Ætheric his noble comrade, eager and impetuous, the brother of Sebyrht: stoutly he fought, and very many others: they clove the bucklers; keen were they: they burst the covering of the shields; and the hauberk sang a strain of terror[2].

Then did Offa smite the mariner host in the fight till they fell on the earth; yet that kinsman of Godda found there his grave: Offa himself was suddenly cut down in the conflict. Nevertheless he had redeemed his pledge to his chieftain, which he before had promised to his dispenser of gems, that they should both ride together to the burgh, unharmed to their homes, or that both should together fall among the host in the place of slaughter expiring with wounds.—He lay, like a faithful attendant, nigh his lord.

Then was there crashing of bucklers. The mariners marched on, harassed in the fight. The dart oft pierced through the tenement of life in those predestined to slaughter, for which end it had sped.

Wistan Thurstan's son fought against these bands: he was included in the destruction of these three; for Wigeline's son laid him among the slaughtered. There was a stern meeting: the warriors stood firm in the fight—fighting they sunk, oppressed with wounds: the carnage fell on the earth. Oswald and Eadwold, two brothers, arrayed meanwhile their kindred warriors: they exhorted them in their harangues that they should in that hour of need endure with no faint spirit the encounter of weapons.

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[1] 'Him se ȝysel onȝan . ȝromlice fylstan.' Hostage is the only sense in which the word 'ȝisel' occurs; yet it is difficult to reconcile this sense to the context. I have endeavoured to do so by incorporating in my version the conjecture that he might have escaped during the battle from the hands of the Danes.

[2] 'And seo byrne sang . ȝryre leoþa sum.'

Byrhtwold spoke: he was an aged vassal: he raised his shield, he brandished his ashen spear; he full boldly exhorted the warriors:—"Our spirit shall be the hardier; our heart shall be the keener; our soul shall be the greater, the more our forces diminish. Here lieth our chief, all mangled—the brave one in the dust: ever may he lament his shame that thinketh to fly from this play of weapons. Old am I in life, yet will I not stir hence; but I think to lie by the side of my lord—by that much loved man."

And in like manner Godric the son of Ethelgar cheered them all on to the conflict. Oft he poured forth his darts, and sped the death-spear against the pirates: so did he rush foremost on that people; he hewed and slaughtered them till they fell in the fight. This was not the same Godric who had before fled from the war.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

OF

Anglo-Saxon Poetry.

ILLUSTRATIONS

OF

ANGLO-SAXON POETRY.

HYMN OF CÆDMON,

PRESERVED IN ALFRED'S TRANSLATION OF BEDE'S ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

WHETHER the adventurous companions of Hengist and Horsa brought with them into our island any tincture of letters we cannot at present ascertain. If they had any, it probably consisted in part of those traditional songs which are almost uniformly found to constitute the earliest species of poetry, of learning, and of history among nations emerging from a state of barbarism. The earliest mention, however, of Saxon poetry which antiquaries have been able to discover occurs in the fourth book of Bede's Ecclesiastical History. The twenty-fourth chapter of that book is occupied by an account of the poetical talents and exemplary piety of Cædmon, a monk of the Abbey of Streoneshalh in Northumbria, whose genius, supernaturally, as it was believed, restricted to the treatment of scriptural and devotional subjects, appeared, when so employed, little short of actual inspiration in the eyes, not only of his more unlearned cotemporaries, but in those of the venerable historian himself;—the rather, perhaps, as he seems to have been nearly if not

altogether destitute of the advantages of human learning. Bede's account of this extraordinary man, although tinged with the credulity of his age, is interesting, both as it presents a curious trait of ancient manners, and contains a translation of the earliest composition attributed to him. To Alfred we are further indebted for the preservation of the original. Cædmon (says Bede) was to an advanced period of life[1] so totally ignorant of verse, that being accidentally present at a feast where the guests sang in their turn *lætitiæ causâ*, so soon as he saw the harp[2] approach himself he quitted the table abruptly and retired to his own home. In the course of the ensuing night he dreamt that a stranger accosted and requested him to sing: he pleaded his inability, adding that on account of that inability he had retired from his friend's table. "You have the power," shortly replied the stranger. "What, then," asked the cowherd, (for Cædmon's occupation was no other,) "would you have me sing?" "The Creation," returned the stranger: and Cædmon found himself immediately enabled to compose and sing a short poem on that subject, which, on waking, he fully retained in his memory. A circumstance so remarkable could not long be concealed from the superiors of the monastery, in whose service he seems to have been employed; and after some further trial of his powers he was persuaded to adopt their habit and dedicate himself entirely to the composition of religious poetry. Being instructed at length by his brethren in the history of the scriptures and the doctrines of christianity, (which his want of learning, we may suppose, prevented him from studying in the only languages in which they were then to be found) he versified the whole of their more important contents, with a success which deserved, according to Bede,

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[1] *Ad tempora provectioris ætatis.*

[2] These songs must have been in the vernacular tongue; and as the singing and accompanying them on the harp is noticed as so general an accomplishment, the art and uses of poetry must long before this period have become familiar to our ancestors.

all future competition. "*Et quidem et alii post illum in gente Anglorum religiosa poemata facere tentabant, sed nullus ei æquiparari potuit. Namque ipse non hominibus, neque per hominem institutus, canendi artem didicit, sed divinitus adjutus gratis canendi donum accepit.*"

The Hymn above alluded to, or at least so much of it as the poet composed in his sleep, is subjoined. It will scarcely be thought to merit the praises bestowed on it by the historian.

Nu we sceolon herigean	*Nunc debemus celebrare*
Heofon-rices weard,	*Regni cælestis custodem,*
Metodes mihte,	*Creatoris potentiam,*
And his mod-geðanc,	*Et ejus consilium,*
Weorc wuldor Fæder.	*Opus gloriosi Patris*[1].
Swa he wundra gehwæs,	*Ita ille mirabilium singulorum,*
Ece Drihten,	*Æternus Dominus,*
Ord onsteald.	*Principium stabilivit.*
He ærest scop	*Ille primus creavit*
Eorðan bearnum	*Terræ filiis*
Heofon to rofe,	*Cælum in fornicem,*
Halig Scippend.	*Sanctus Creator.*
Ða middangeard	*Tum mediam terram*
Moncynnes weard[2]	*Humani generis habitaculum*
Ece Drihten,	*Æternus Dominus*
Æfter teode	*Postea fabricavit*
Firum foldan	*Viris terram*
Frea ælmihtig.	*Rector omnipotens.*

[1] Or it may be rendered *gloriosi operis pater*. This line affords us an early instance of that absence of inflection and of connecting particles which renders the Saxon poetry highly obscure and difficult of construction.

[2] It will be perceived that this and the fifth line are differently rendered in the Latin and English translations. The reader will have frequent opportunities of observing that the elliptical construction of Saxon poetry renders it thus ambiguous.

NOW should we *all*[1] heaven's guardian King exalt,
The power and counsels of *our* Maker's will,
Father of glorious works, eternal Lord,
He from of old stablish'd the origin
Of every *varied* wonder. First he shaped,
For *us* the sons of earth, heaven's canopy,
Holy Creator. Next this middle *realm*,
This earth, the *bounteous* guardian of mankind,
The everlasting Lord, for mortals framed,
Ruler omnipotent[2].

In this fragment we may readily trace (as it has already been observed by Mr. Turner) that simple mechanism which by the accumulation of parallel expressions has expanded to the length of eighteen lines the mere proposition "Let us praise God the maker of

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[1] The words printed in Italics are such as do not occur in the original.

[2] Wanley has given, (*Cat. MSS. Septent.* p. 287.) from a manuscript which he believed to be of the 8th century, a copy of this hymn differing materially from the common text both in its orthography and in the grammatical form of some words.—It runs thus:

Nu scylun herȝan	Elda barnum
Hefaen ricaes vard,	Heben til hrofe,
Metudæs mæcti,	Halez Scepen.
End his mod ȝidanc,	Tha middun ȝeard
Verc vuldur Fadur.	Moncynnæs vard,
Sue he vundra ȝiliûaes,	Eci Dryctin,
Eci Drictin,	Æfter tiadæ,
Ora stelidæ.	Firum foldu,
He ærist scopa	Frea allmectiȝ.

Wanley himself however has some doubt whether the hand-writing of this addition (for such it is) be coeval with that of the entire MS. There appears to me strong ground for thinking it the work of the 11th or 12th century, and of an inexperienced scribe. 'Scop' and 'Scyppend' (l. 9 and 12) seem much more analogous than 'Scopa' and 'Scepen,' and the same remarkable substitution of *æ* for *e* is found in MS. Bodley 343, supposed by Wanley to be written in the reign of Henry II. 'Ora' for 'ord' must be a mistake either of the transcriber or printer.

heaven and earth." The fragment itself has been repeatedly published, and upon this account among others it would hardly have been entitled to so much of our time, had it not been the earliest specimen of our poetry extant, and the only well authenticated remain of one who has had the fortune to be regarded as the Saxon Homer.

After all, it has been questioned, whether the poem, as we now possess it, is not to be regarded rather as a retranslation by Alfred from the Latin of Bede, than as the original effusion of Cædmon[1]. Although there appears no very plausible reason in favour of this supposition, its direct refutation would be no easy task, and most readers would, in all probability, wish to be spared the discussion. There is extant however, one short fragment of Saxon Poetry the age and authenticity of which are beyond dispute, and which may fairly be regarded as belonging to the same æra of our language and versification. It has not (so far as I am aware) been as yet noticed by any of our poetical antiquaries, although it boasts no less an author than the venerable Bede, and cannot therefore on a fair computation have been written more than sixty years after the works of Cædmon himself. This fragment, more interesting, it must be confessed, from its antiquity than from any pretensions to poetical merit, is to be found in the simple and affecting narrative of the historian's last moments, addressed to Cuthwine by his friend and

[1] See Lingard's *Antiquities of the Saxon Church*. But popular as the poems of Cædmon appear to have been, it is scarcely probable that this, which, from the circumstances said to have attended its production, must have been esteemed among the most valuable, should have been totally lost in the age of Alfred:—if it were then extant, the royal translator would no doubt have preferred inserting the original to paraphrasing the Latin of Bede. It may be urged also that the Saxon and Latin resemble each other so closely, as to countenance the belief that the latter is a literal translation of the former.—Had Alfred copied from Bede, we may reasonably suppose that his version would have been more paraphrastic. Such at least is uniformly the case in his translation of the Boethian metres.

disciple Cuthbert.—"As he felt his end approaching, he repeated," says this writer, "many passages of holy scripture; and, as he was learned in our poetry, spoke also some things in the English language, for then composing the following speech in English he said with great compunction[1]"—

For ðam neodfere		*Ante necessarium exitum*
Nænig wyrðeð		*Nemo extat*
Ðonces snottra		*Consilii prudentior*
Ðonne him ðearfe sy,		*Quam sibi opus sit,*
To gehiggene,	5	*Ad cogitandum,*
Ær his heonan-gange,		*Ante decessum suum,*
Hwæt his gasta,		*Qualiter anima sua,*
Godes other yrdes,		*Pro bono aut malo,*
Æfter deaðe heonan		*Post mortis exitum*
Demed wurðe.	10	*Judicanda sit*[2].

Whether or no these lines were composed by him (as Cuthbert should seem to affirm) upon his death-bed, there can be no doubt that they are the production of Bede himself. They resemble closely both in their metrical and grammatical structure the specimens attributed to authors of a later date, and it may therefore be safely affirmed that our vernacular poetry had assumed as early as the year 735 the form and character which it preserved with little or no alteration, until the establishment of the Norman dynasty produced a correspondent change in our language and versification.

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[1] "*Multa de scripturis sacris, et in nostrâ quoque linguâ, hoc est Anglicanâ, ut erat doctus in nostris carminibus, nonnulla dixit: nam et tunc hoc dictum Anglico sermone componens multùm compunctus aiebat.*" See the whole letter in Bede's *Eccl. Hist. ed. Smith*, p. 792.

[2] I have adopted, as much as possible, the translation of Cuthbert. The general meaning of the lines (of which it would be absurd to attempt any poetical version) appears to be that "No man living reflects, before his death, with greater anxiety than is necessary upon his future judgement."

THE SONG OF THE TRAVELLER.

In a review of Anglo-Saxon poetry the Hymns of Cædmon and Bede appeared to demand the first place, as being, with the single exception perhaps of Alfred's version of Boethius[1], the only compositions of which the age is clearly ascertained. The poem which follows, now published for the first time, owes its origin in all probability to a period yet more remote, and to an author of a very different cast, a Scald or Minstrel by profession. As it preserves the only contemporary picture on record (at least in Saxon poetry[2]) of such a character, and contains a singular enumeration of many tribes and sovereigns whose very existence, in some cases, has now no other memorial, it appeared desirable to submit the whole to the antiquarian student. To the lover of poetry it has perhaps but little that will recommend it. For the greater part it exhibits scarcely more than a dry catalogue of names, enlivened by a few allusions to traditionary history, which, from the absence of all collateral documents, are highly obscure; and the more intelligible relation of his own success in commanding the applause and munificence of kings and nobles.

This remarkable composition is preserved in a manuscript volume of Saxon poetry given by Bishop Leofric to the cathedral church of Exeter about the time of the Norman conquest. This valuable relique (to which the present collection is largely indebted,

[1] The poetry also which occurs in the Saxon Chronicle was probably written by persons contemporary with the events celebrated.

[2] The adventures of the unfortunate Gunnlaug at the court of Ethelred and other monarchs, are not unlike those of our bard. See *Gunnlaug's Saga*, p. 97. and Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, v. i. p. 418.

and which will hereafter be designated as the Exeter Manuscript) consists of various poems chiefly on religious or moral subjects. The Song of the Traveller (as I have ventured to name it), which forms one of the few exceptions to this rule, occurs towards the end of the MS. and seems to have no connection with the articles preceding or following it. The hand-writing of the MS. appears but little if at all anterior to the age of Leofric. The reasons which induce the Editor to assign to the poem a date considerably earlier will be more easily appreciated when the reader shall have been made possessed of its contents. In the English version or rather paraphrase which follows, the Editor, while he has endeavoured to deviate as little as possible from the sense of the original, has ventured to dispense with that closeness of imitation which it has, in most other cases, been his wish to observe, but which in this instance, if at all practicable, would scarcely have compensated for the extreme jejuneness and barbarity of the Poet's historical and geographical nomenclature [1].

WID siþ maþolade,		*Longum iter narravit,*
Word-hord onleac		*Verborum copiam reseravit*
Se þe mæste		*Ille qui plurima*
Mærþa ofer eorþan		*Mirabilia de terræ*
Folca ȝeond-ferde	5	*Populis, iter faciens*
Of þe flette ȝeþah.		(*Procul*) *a domo, intellexerat.*
Mynelicne maþþum[2]		*Amicis verbis*
Hine from Myrȝingum		*Illum a Myrgingis*

[1] It may here be stated that this singular poem occurs at the commencement of the 9th book or section of the Exeter MS. which has been described by Wanley (*Cat. MSS. Sax.* p. 281) as consisting chiefly of ænigmas. His usual industry and accuracy seem here to have forsaken him; for the section in question contains little or nothing to which that name can, by any licence whatever, be applied.

[2] This line may perhaps belong to the preceding clause in connection with 'Word-hord onleac.'

Æðele onwocon[1],		*Nobiles excitarunt ?*
He mid Ealhhilde,	10	*Ille cum Ealhilda*
Fælre freoðu,		*Fido amore*
Webban forman		*Uxore primâ ?*
Siðehreð cyninges		*Sithredi principis ?*
Ham ȝesohte,		*Domum quæsivit*
Eastan of Onȝle,	15	*Ex oriente ab Anglis*
Eormanrices		*Hermanrici*
Wraðes wærloȝan[2].		*(Propter) iram infidam ?*
Onȝon ða worn sprecan.		*Incepit tunc populum adloqui.*
" Fela ic monna ȝefrægn		*" Multos ego homines novi*
Mæȝðum wealdan.	20	*Potenter dominari.*
Sceal ðeoda ȝehwylc		*Debet populus quisque*
Ðeawum lifȝan,		*(Secundum) mores (suos) vivere,*
Eorl æfter oðrum		*Dux pro aliis*
Eðle rædan,		*Nobilis curam capere,*
Se ðe his ðeoden-stol	25	*Qui ejus solium*
Geðeon wile.		*Vigere cupiat.*
Ðara wæs wala		*Illorum fuit divitiis*
Hwile ſelast,		*Olim florentissimus,*
And Alexandreas		*Alexander, et*
Ealra ricost	30	*Omnium ditissimus*
Monna cynnes,		*Humani generis,*
And he mæst ȝeðah		*Et ille plurimum viguit*

[1] I am doubtful as to the sense of this clause. It may however imply that the nobles of his own country had encouraged him to travel, as appears to have been the case with Gunnlaug. See *Gunn. Sag.* p. 96. and the note 66.

[2] It is to be regretted that the construction of those passages which I have marked with ?, and which relate evidently to the personal history of the bard, is more highly obscure than that of any others in the poem. The sense here attributed to 'Webban forman Siðehreð cyninges' is purely conjectural. The apparent purport of the last paragraph does not agree with what is afterwards said in praise of Hermanric.

Ðara ðe ic ofer foldan		(*Ex*) *Iis quos ego per terram*
Gefræʒn hæbbe.		*Celebratos audivi.*
Ætla weold Hunum.	35	*Attila imperavit Hunnis.*
Eormanric Gotum.		*Hermanricus Gothis.*
Becca Baningum.		*Becca Baningis*[1] ?
Burʒendum Gifica[2].		*Burgundis Gifica.*
Casere weold Creacum.		*Cæsar imperavit Græcis.*
And Celic Finnum.	40	*Et Celic Finnis.*
Hagena Holm-ricum.		*Hagena Holmiensibus.*
And Henden Glommum[3].		*Et Henden Glommis.*
Witta weold Swæfum.		*Witta imperavit Suevis.*
Wada Helsinʒum[4].		*Wada Helsingis.*
Meaca Myrʒinʒum.	45	*Meaca Myrgingis* ?
Mearcheálf Hundinʒum[5].		*Marculphus Hundingis* ?
Ðeodric weold Froncum.		*Theodoricus imperavit Francis*
Ðyle Rondinʒum ?		*Thyle Rondingis*[6] ?
Breoca Brondinʒum[7].		*Brèoca Brondingis* ?
Billinʒ Wernum.	50	*Billing Varinis.*
Oswine weold Eowum[8].		*Oswine imperavit Eowis.*
And[9] Ytum Gefwulf.		*Et Ytis* ? *Gefwulf.*

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[1] I have added notes of interrogation to the names of tribes of which I am unable to find any other mention.

[2] The name of Gifica stands at the head of the succession of Burgundian kings. Nothing appears to be known of his age or actions.

[3] The Glommi were a Sorabic tribe, *v. Weissii Antiquitates Misnico-Saxonicas.* p. 136: *e Cronico Ditmari.*

[4] "*Halsingaland civitas maxima Scritofinnorum.*"—Adam Bremens. The Helsingians are enumerated among the people conquered by Regner Lodbrog; see his well known Death-song.

[5] See the story of *Helgo Hundingicida* in Saxo Grammaticus: but these Hundingi appear to have been rather a family than a people.

[6] *Quære* if Rudigni.

[7] Inhabitants of Brandenberg or Brondey. *Vide* Thorkelin *in indice ad Beowulf sub voce.*

[8] Eoland.

[9] There is a Liothida (*q. d. populus Idæ*) mentioned by Jornandes, c. 3. p. 612.

Finfolc Walding		*Finnis Walding*[1]
Fresna cynne.		*Frisonum generi.*
Sigehere lengest	55	*Sigehere diutissime*
Sæ Denum weolde.		*Danis maritimis imperavit.*
Hnæf Hocingum[2].		*Hnæf Hocingis ?*
Helm Wulfingum[3].		*Helm Wulfingis.*
Wald Woingum[4].		*Wald Woingis ?*
Wod Þyringum	60	*Wod Thyringis.*
Sæferð Sycgum[5].		*Sæferth Sycgis.*
Sweom Ongendðeow.		*Sueis Ongendtheow.*
Sceafthere Ymbrum.		*Sceafthere Ymbris.*
Sceafa Longbeardum.		*Sceafa Longobardis.*
Hunhæt Werum.	65	*Hunhæt Weris ?*
And Holen Wrosnum[6].		*Et Holen Wrosnis ?*
Hingweald wæs haten		*Hingweald erat appellatus*
Here-farena cyning.		*Bellatorum rex.*
Offa weold Ongle.		*Offa imperavit Anglis.*
Alewih Denum.	70	*Alewih Danis.*
Se wæs ðara monna		*Ille fuit hominum*
Modgast ealra.		*Fortissimus omnium.*
Nohwæðre he ofer Offan		*Nullibi ille super Offam*
Eorlscype fremede,		*Principatum obtinuit,*
Ac Offa geslog,	75	*Sed Offa constituit,*
Ærest monna,		*Primus hominum,*

[1] The construction of this sentence is not clear. The name of Fin occurs as that of a king of the Fresna-cynne in Beowulf. But if we here make Fin the proper name, there will remain a greater difficulty in rendering the other words.

[2] Of the names already known, the nearest in sound are Osi and Chauci.

[3] Or Ylfingi, a Norwegian tribe. *v.* Thorkelin *ad* Beowulf, p. 268.

[4] *Quære* if the Boii. Among the names of Scandinavian tribes given by Jornandes (cap. 3), there occurs one not very dissimilar—Vagoth.

[5] Sictona. *v.* Grotium, 104, (præf.)

[6] Can these Wrosni be the Borussi?

Cniht wesende		*Juvenis cum esset*
Cynerica mæst.		*Regnum maximum.*
Nænig efen-eald		*Nemo æquævus*
Him eorlscype	80	*Illo principatum*
Maran onarette		*Majorem erèxit*
Ane sweorde.		*Proprio ense.*
Merce gemærde		*Limitem designatum*
Wiþ Myrgingum,		*Contra Myrgingos.*
Bi fifel dore,	85	*Ad quinque urbium transitum,*
Heoldon forð siþðan		*Habuerunt ex eo tempore*
Engle and Swæfe,		*Angli et Suevi,*
Swa hit Offa geslog.		*Uti eum Offa constituit.*
Hroðwulf and Hroðgar		*Hrothwulfus et Hrothgarus*
Heoldon lengest	90	*Habuerunt diutissime*
Sibbe æt somne		*Pacem inter se (simul)*
Suhtor fædran		*Consanguinei a patre*
Siþðan hi forwræcon		*Ex quo ultionem sumsere*
Wicinga cynn		*(A) Wicingorum genere*
And ingeldes	95	*Et pervicaciæ*
Ord forbigdan		*Initium contuderunt*
Forheowan æt Heorote		*Obtruncarunt ad Heorote*
Heaðo [1] beardna ðrym.		*Excelsorum hominum potestatem.*
Swa ic geond ferde fela		*Ita ego peragravi multas*
Fremdra londa	100	*Exteras regiones*
Geond ginnegrund.		*Per amplam terram.*
Godes and yfles		*Bonum ac malum*
Ðær ic cunnode		*In iis cognovi*

[1] I am not certain whether I am justified in translating 'beardna' as though it were written 'beorna.' This passage shows the bard to have been acquainted with Scaldic traditions. Hrothwulf is mentioned in the poem of Beowulf as standing in the same relationship to Hrothgar. Heorot is celebrated in the same poem as the palace or metropolis of Hrothgar.

Cnosle bidæled.	*Generi (humano) datum.*
Freomæzum feor	*A cognatis procul*
Folzade wide [1].	*Secutus sum late?*
Forðon ic mæz sinzan and seczan,	*Idcirco possum canere et loqui,*
Spell mænan	*Narrationem proferre [aulâ,*
Fore menzo in meodu healle,	*Coram hominibus in hydromelis*
Hu me cyne zode	*Quomodo me reges boni*
Cystum dohton.	*Donis ditaverint.*
Ic wæs mid Hunum,	*Fui cum Hunnis,*
And mid Hredgoðum [2],	*Et cum Hredgothis,*
Mid Sweom and mid Geatum,	*Cum Suèis et cum Geatis,*
And mid Suð-Denum.	*Et cum Danis Meridionalibus.*
Mid Wenlum ic wæs and mid Wærnum,	*Cum Vinulis eram et cum Varinis,*
And mid Wicingum.	*Et cum Wicingis.*
Mid Gefðum ic wæs and mid Winedum,	*Cum Gepidis fui et cum Veredis,*
And mid Gefflezum [3].	*Et cum Geflegis.*
Mid Enzlum ic wæs and mid Swæfum,	*Cum Anglis fui et Suevis,*
And mid Ænenum [4].	*Et cum Anienis.*
Mid Seaxum ic wæs and Syczum,	*Cum Saxis fui et Sycgis?*
And mid sweord werum.	*Et cum gladiariis.*
Mid Hronum [5] ic wæs and mid Deanum,	*Cum Hronis fui et Danis,*
And mid heaðo Reomum	*Et cum summis Romanis.*
Mid Ðuringum ic wæs,	*Cum Thyringis fui*
And mid Ðrowendum,	*Et cum Jaculatoribus?*

[1] If my construction is right, there is a singular ellipse of the accusative after 'folzade.' Can 'folzian' mean simply to go or travel?

[2] Reidgoti inhabited the present Jutland. See *Edda Snorronis, sub initio.*

[3] Inhabitants of Gafleberg? [4] Inhabitants of Ænen?

[5] 'Hrones næs' is mentioned in Beowulf.

And mid Burgendum.
Đær ic beah ȝeđeah,
Me đære Guđhere forȝeaf
Glædlicne mađđum,
Sonȝes to leane.
Næs đæt sænc cyninȝ.
Mid Froncum ic wæs and mid Frysum,
And mid Frumtinȝum.
Mid Ruȝum ic wæs and mid Glommum,
And mid Rumwalum[1].
Swylce ic wæs on Eatule
Mid Ælfwine,
Se hæfde moncynnes
Mine ȝefræȝe
Leohtest hond
Lofes to wyrcenne,
Heortan unhneaweste
Hrinȝa ȝedales,
Beorhtra beaȝa,
Bearn Eadwines.
Mid Sercynȝum ic wæs
And mid Serinȝum.
Mid Creacum ic wæs and mid Finnum,
And mid Casere,
Se the winburȝa
Geweald ahte
Wiolane and wilna
And wala rices.

Et cum Burgundis.
Ibi ego armillis florui
Quas mihi Gudhere dedit
Læto animo
Carminis in præmium.
Non est ille segnis rex.
Cum Francis fui ac Frisiis,
Et cum Frumtingis?
Cum Rugiis fui ac Glommis,
Et cum Rumwalis (Romanis).
Simul fui in Italia
Cum Ælfwino,
Ille habuit hominum
Meo judicio
Facillimam manum
Benevolentiam exhibere,
Cor largissimum
Annulorum distributione,
Fulgentium armillarum,
Filius Eadwini.
Cum Sercyngis? fui
Et cum Seringis?
Cum Græcis fui et cum Finnis,
Et cum Cæsare,
Qui urbis splendidæ
Imperium habet
Gazas et potentiam
Et divitias regni.

[1] On the application of this name to the Romans see *Cluverii Germ. Antiq.* lib. 1. p. 79.

Mid Scottum ic wæs and mid Peohtum,		*Cum Scotis fui ac Pictis,*
And mid Scridefinnum.[1]		*Et cum Scritofinnis.*
Mid Lid-wicingum[2] ic wæs and mid Leomum[3],		*Cum Lidwicingis fui ac Leomis,*
And mid Longbeardum.		*Et cum Longobardis.* [nis[4]?
Mid hæðnum and mid hælcðum,		*Cum Paganis fui ac Christia-*
And mid Hundingum.	161	*Et cum Hundingis?*
Mid Israhelum ic wæs		*Cum Israelitis fui*
And mid Exsyringum.		*Et cum Assyriis;*
Mid Ebreum and mid Indeum,		*Cum Hebræis ac Indis,*
And mid Egyptum.	165	*Et cum Ægyptiis.*
Mid Moidum ic wæs and mid Persum,		*Cum Medis fui ac Persis,*
And mid Myrgingum and Mosdingum[5],		*Et cum Myrgingis et Mosdingis?*
And eft ongend Myrgingum		*Et iterum Myrgingis*
And mid Amoðingum[6]?		*Et cum Amothingis?*
Mid East-Ðyringum ic wæs	170	*Cum Thyringis orientalibus fui*
And mid Eolum,		*Et cum Eolis,*
And mid Istum		*Et cum Æstiis*
And Idumingum.		*Et Idumæis.*
And ic wæs wið Eormanric[7]		*Et ego fui cum Hermanrico*
Ealle ðrage.	175	*Omni (longo?) tempore.*

[1] See *Jornandes*, p. 710.

[2] The inhabitants of Armorica. See *Chron. Saxon.* p. 88. The name may possibly be derived from 'lid,' ship, and 'wicing,' war-king (vikingr, Isl.).

[3] Can these be the Lemovii of Tacitus?

[4] 'Hælcð' is used for a man or hero. As it is here opposed to Heathens, I have ventured to translate it Christians.

[5] Keysler mentions an altar discovered at Niewmayen dedicated "*Matribus Mopatensibus*," who appear (like the *Matres Gallaicæ, Treviræ, Suebæ* and others) to have been local tutelary deities. See Keysler, *Ant. Sept.* 439.

[6] Othingi (if the text be correct) are mentioned by Jornandes, c. 3.

[7] This passage has scarcely the air of a forgery.

Dær me Gotena cyninʒ		*Illic mihi Gotthorum rex*
Gode dohte,		*Benefecit,*
Se me beaʒ forʒeaf,		*Qui mihi armillam dedit,*
Burʒwarena fruma,		*Civium princeps,*
On ðam siex hund wæs	180	*In eam sexcenti erant*
Smætes ʒoldes ʒescyred		*Auri obryzati impensi*
Sceatta-scillinʒ rime.		*Sceatta-scillingi numero.*
Done ic Eadʒilse		*Hanc ego Eadgilso*
On æht selde		*In possessionem dedi,*
Minum hleodryhtne	185	*Meo patrono,*
Ða ic to ðam bicwom		*Ubi ego ad eum adveneram,*
Leofum to leane.		*Amoris in gratiam.*
Dæs ðe he me lond forʒeaf		*Quoniam ille mihi terram dedit*
Mines fæder eðel		*Meæ patriæ*
Frea Myrʒinʒa.	190	*Dominus Myrgingorum.*
And me ða Ealhilde		*Et me tunc Ealhildæ*
Oðerne forgeaf		*Aliâ (terrâ) donavit*
Dryht-cwen duʒuðe		*Regina benefica*
Dohtor Eadwines.		*Filia Eadwini.*
Hyre lof lenʒde	195	*Ejus amor duravit*
Geond lond fela.		*Per multas terras.*
Ðon ic be sonʒe		*Igitur ego in carmine*
Secʒan sceolde		*Dicere debeo*
Hwær is under swegle selast		*Qualis est sub cælo optima*
Ðisse ʒold-hrodene cwen	200	*Illa auro ornata regina*
Giefe bryttian.		*In muneribus impertiendis.*
Ðon wit scilling sciran		*Ubi ob pretium splendidum*
Reorde for uncrum		*Linguâ ante nostram*
Sige dryhtne		*Illustrem principem*
Songʒ ahofan	205	*Cantilenam elevârunt*
Hlude bi hearpan[1],		*Clare ad citharam,*

[1] or 'bihearpan, *citharâ ludebant.*' This competition of bards 'wit scilling sciran,' appears to have been common among the Gothic as among the Gre-

Hlcoðor swinsade.		*Cantus sonuit.*
Ðon monize men		*Tunc multi homines*
Modum wlonce		*Magnanimi*
Wordum sprecan,	210	*Verbis edixerunt,*
Ða ðe wel cuðan,		*Qui bene periti erant,*
Ðæt hi næfre song		*Quod illi nunquam carmen*
Sellan ne hyrdon.		*Pulchrius audiverant.*
Ðonan ic ealne ȝeond hwearf		*Inde ego omnem peragravi*
Æðel Gotena.	215	*Patriam Gothorum.*
Sohte ic a siða		*Quæsivi postea*
Ða selestan		*Fortunatissimum*
Ðæt wæs in weorud		*Qui erat in pugna*
Eormanrices.		*Hermanricum.*
Heðcan sohte ic and Beadecan		*Hethcan petii ac Beadecan*
And Herelingas,		*Et Herelingas (Herulos?),*
Emercan? sohte ic and Fridlan,		*Emercan quæsivi et Friedlam*
And East Gotan,		*Et Gothiam Orientalem,*
Frodne and godne		*Sene ac bono*
Fæder unwenes[1]	225	*Patre inscio?*
Seccan sohte ic and Beccan,		*Seccan quæsivi et Beccan*
[2] Seafolan and Ðeodric,		*Seafolan et Theodoricum,*
Heaðoric and Sifecan,		*Heathoricum et Sifecan*
Hliðe and Inȝenðeow,		*Hlithum et Ingentheowum,*

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cian tribes. Hesiod describes himself as victor in a contest of this kind at Chalcis (Εργα, 655,). And a remarkable one which took place between Gunnlaug and Rafn will be found in *Gunn. Saga*, p. 112.

[1] The construction is here also obscure; 'unwen' usually means unknown or unexpected.

[2] I am indebted to Messrs. Taylor for pointing out the identity of this name with that of Sæfugl preserved in the genealogy of Ella (see *Chron. Sax.* p. 20.) Elsa, l. 230 and Witherȝield, l. 245, are not very unlike Esla grandfather of Cerdic, and Wihtgils, father of Hengist and Horsa.—See *Chron. Sax.* pp. 13 and 15.—These persons (if they ever had a real existence) may very well have been contemporaries and flourished about the year 140.

Eadwine sohte ic and Elsan,	230	*Eadwinum quæsivi et Elsan,*
Egel-mund and Hungar,		*Egelmundum et Hungarum,*
And ðа wloncan ȝedryht		*Et impavidum dominum*
Wiɔ̈ Myrȝinȝa.		*Myrgingorum*[1].
Wulfhere sohte ic		*Wulfherum quæsivi*
And Wyrmhere ful oft.	235	*Et Wyrmherum sæpissime.*
Ðær wiȝ ne alæȝ,		*Ibi (vel illorum) bellum non*
Ðonne hreada here		*Tunc ferox exercitus* [*desiit,*
Heardum sweordum		*Duris ensibus*
Ymb wistla wudu		*Circa sonantem clypeum*
Werȝan sceoldon	240	*Defendere gestiebant*
Ealdre eðel-stol[2]		*Antiquam regni sedem*
Ætlan leodum.		*Contra Attilæ populum.*
Ræðhere sohte ic and Rondhere		*Ræthhere quæsivi et Rondhere,*
Rumstan and Gislhere,		*Rumstan et Gislhere,*
Withergield and Freoðeric	245	*Withergield et Fredericum*
Wudȝan and Haman		*Wudgam et Hamam*
Ne wæron ðæt ȝesiða		*Non erant illi comites*
Ða sæmestan[3]		*Deterrimi*
Ðeahte ich y a nihst[4]		- - - -
Nemnan sceolde.	250	*Nominare debeam.*
Ful oft of ðam		*Sæpe ab illis*
Heape hwynende		*Exercitus pugnans*
Fleaȝ ȝiellende		*Fugit vociferans,*
Gar on ȝrome ðeode		*Telum in ferocem populum*

[1] or *Contra Myrgingos.*

[2] Whether the 'Ealdre eðel-stol' be Rome, or the empire of Wulfhere and Wyrmhere themselves, must be left to conjecture.

[3] Sæmre *deterior* (see Lye).

[4] The whole of this clause is obscure, and of the present line as it stands I can make no sense. If we suppose 'ðeahte' to be an error of the pen for 'ðætte,' it might be rendered *Quos ego ultimos* (or *tandem*). If 'ðeahte' be the genuine reading, it must either mean thought (subst.), or be the past tense of 'ðecan' to cover, but in neither case can I make sense of it.

Wræccan ðа weoldan	255	*Exercere cum voluerint.*
Wundnan ʒolde[1]		*Vulneratos rependebant*
Werum and wifum		*Viros et fœminas*
Wudʒa and Hama.		*Wudga et Hama.*
Swa ic ðæt symle onfond,		*Ita ego id sœpe inveni*
On ðær ferinʒe,	260	*In itinere,*
Ðæt se bið leofast		*Quod ille est carissimus*
Lond buendum,		*Terræ incolis*
Se ðe hym God syleð		*Cui Deus addidit*
Gumena rice		*Hominum imperium*
To ʒehealdenne,	265	*Gerendum,*
Ðenden he her leofað.		*Quum ille eos habeat caros,*
Swa scriðende		*Ita commeantes*
Gesceapum hweorfað		*Cum cantilenis feruntur*
Gleomen ʒumenа		*Bardi hominum*
Geond grunda fela,	270	*Per terras multas,*
Ðearfe secʒað,		*Necessitatem dicunt,*
Ðonc word spreca ð,		*Gratias agunt,*
Suð oððe Norð.		*E Meridie simul ac Boreâ.*
Sumne ʒemetað		*Simul (eos) remuneratur*
Gyðða ʒlcawne	275	*Ob cantilenas pulcras*
Geofum unhneawne,		*Muneribus immensis,*
Se ðe fore duʒuðe		*Ille qui ante nobiles*
Wile dom aræran,		*Vult judicium (suum) extollere,*
Eorlscipe œfnan,		*Dignitatem sustinere,*
Oððe ðæt eal sceaceð	280	*Vel qui omnia distribuit*
Leoht et lifsomod:		*Facilis et lætus animi*

[1] The construction here also is difficult. 'Wundnan ʒolde' is I suspect translated erroneously in the text: it is one of the usual paraphrases for bracelets or collars, *aurum tortum.* The whole paragraph might perhaps be rendered *Sœpe ab illis, exercitu pugnante, volabat stridulum telum in ferocem populum extorquere cum volucrint tortum aurum viris et fœminis:* or, could 'wræccan' bear such a sense, *rependere tum gestiebant* would be preferable.

Lof se ȝewyrceð		*Amorem ille operatur*
Hafaþ under heofonum		*Habet sub cælo*
Heah fæstne dom :."	284	*Stabilem famam (existimationem)."*

IN phrase that spoke a poet's soul,
His treasured lore he 'gan unfold;
He that had wander'd far and wide,
The Bard his toils and travels told.

From Mergia sprung of noble race,
He left the hall that gave him birth;
And many a wondrous sight had seen,
Long roaming o'er the peopled earth.

For he with love and service true,
In fair Alhilda's princely train,
From Anglia's eastern limits sought
A Gothic monarch's rich domain.

He that of Hermanric had known
The liberal hand, the warrior pride,
Tuned to the list'ning crowd his song,
And told his travels far and wide.

Full many a monarch have I known
In peace and wealth his sceptre bear;
Each land its native law shall own,
And he that seeks a lasting throne
Must make the people's weal his care.
First in riches and renown,

Of all that bore an earthly crown,
The Macedonian monarch shone.
Theudric the warlike Frank obey'd,
Sceafa the Lombard sceptre sway'd;
The savage Hun to Ætla[1] bow'd,
To Celic the rude Finnish crowd.
Longest o'er the northern main
Sigehere led the pirate Dane;
Where Denmark's midland realms extend,
She saw her sons to Elwy bend.
That homage Offa scorn'd to pay,
While Anglia own'd his royal sway;
He, in manhood's earliest pride,
Spread his rightful empire wide.
Brave was Elwy,—but the days
That witness'd Offa's warrior praise
Knew not prince or potentate
That fear'd so high his prosperous state.
Suevia's sons, and Myrgia's lord,
Bow'd to Offa's conquering sword,
Saw his high will their bounds ordain,
Where five fair cities stud the plain,
Nor trespass since on Anglia's rich domain.

Link'd by the bands of kindred blood,
Hrothgar and Hrothwulf's friendship stood,
Nor time could quell its generous glow.
Since first they crush'd the sea-king's pride,
When Heortha saw them, side by side,
Stem fierce rebellion's rising tide,
And lay the sons of slaughter low.
Through many a realm 't was mine to scan
The weal and woe that's dealt to man.

[1] Attila.

Weary and long has been my way,
But I full well, where mead flows free,
May boast amid my minstrelsy,
And tell how kings with ample fee
Have paid and cheer'd the wanderer's lay.
I've sought the Hun's ferocious band,
And the high Roman's peerless land;
Have seen the pirate sea-king's force,
Sped o'er Franconia's realms my course,
And journey'd where Elbe hastes to lave
Thuringia with his earliest wave;
Have sought the Saxon and the Dane,
The Rugian's isle, the Swede's domain;
Each land our northern seas embrace
Has been the wanderer's resting-place.
With gift that well the song repaid
Burgundia's realm my steps delay'd;
When princely Güthere's ready praise
Waited on my varied lays;
And soon the Bard's reward was told
In bracelets of the ruddy gold.

Far o'er Italia's fair and fertile soil
My course was sped with Elfwine's faithful band;
And Edwin's son well recompensed the toil,
For large his soul, and liberal was his hand.
A guest I've shared the minstrel's lot,
With Jute and Angle, Pict and Scot,
The state of Græcia's sons have known,
Where Cæsar holds his lofty throne;
The' imperial city's towering mien,
Her wealth, her power, her pomp have seen.
Well may I tell the garb, the port, the face
Of many a Western, many an Eastern race;

From him that o'er the' Egyptian desert roves,
Or shelter'd rests on Idumæan groves,
To him who bows beneath the Persian's sway,
Or dwells where Ganges courts the rising day.
Long was the time, and joyous all,
Spent in Hermanric's high hall;
And well, full well, where'er he strays,
The Bard his grateful voice may raise,
In Hermanric's exhaustless praise.
Well may he sing from land to land
The Gothic monarch's bounteous hand:
No common gift was his; to frame
The bracelet that he bad me claim,
Six hundred scillings full were told,
Scillings of the virgin gold.
The Bard his home regain'd, and soon
Edgils bore that precious boon:
And Edgils, Mœrgia's noble thane,
Repaid the gift with rich domain.
Noble was Edgils' gift, yet more
Alhilda added to the store;
Edwin's daughter, bounteous queen,
Unchanged through many a varying scene,
The Bard has blest her fostering love.
And still, where'er condemn'd to rove,
Well may he sing that matchless dame,
Of all that bear a royal name,
First to dispense, with bounty free,
To grateful vassals land and fee.

'Twas when great Edgils bad the minstrel throng
For high reward assay the rival song,—
Sweet arose the vocal strain,
And sweet the harp's responsive tone;

But soon confess'd each listening thane,
The lay that pleased was mine alone.
I traversed then the Goth's domain,
And dwelt in Hermanric's high bower;
Of all that hold an earthly reign,
Best in arms, and first in power.
The time would fail me, should I sing
Of every thane and every king
That in my wanderings far and long
Has loved my harp and paid my song;
Ere Myrgia saw the Bard again
Return to swell her Edwin's train.

Full oft the battle-field I sought,
Where Wulfhere, leagued with Wyrmhere, fought
'Gainst Ætla's lawless sons contending,
Their ancient seat of power defending;
Where loud and long the temper'd sword
Rung on the rounded target board[1].
Befits it too my song should name
Wudga and Hama's warrior fame:
Strong in their brotherhood they bore
Dismay and death around,
Where routed foes in wild uproar
Or fled, or strew'd the reeking ground;
And wreathed gold, and kingly spoil,
Repaid full well their gallant toil.
So sped the Bard, by kings and heroes sought,
And wide as o'er the nations still he roved,
One constant truth his long experience taught,
"Who loves his people is alone beloved."

[1] 'wudu' in the original;—'rond' is a common expression in A. S. poetry for a shield or target.

Thus north and south where'er they roam,
The sons of song still find a home,
Speak unreproved their wants, and raise
Their grateful lay of thanks and praise.
For still the chief, who seeks to grace
By fairest fame his pride of place,
Withholds not from the sacred Bard
His well-earn'd praise and high reward.
But free of hand, and large of soul,
Where'er extends his wide controul,
Unnumber'd gifts his princely love proclaim,
Unnumber'd voices raise to Heaven his princely name[1].

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[1] The tone of this flattering picture of the honours paid by the Gothic tribes to the Muses and their votaries, will remind the classical reader of that in which the early bards of Greece were accustomed to speak of themselves, their pretensions, and their rewards. (Conf. *Homer. Odyss. de Phemio et Demodoco*, l. 1. and 8. *Hesiod. Ἔργα*, l. 656. and *Pind. Olymp.* I. l. 24.) Other times and other manners at length sorely reduced the estimation and pride of the minstrel. (See *Percy's Reliques*, vol. 1. pref. p. xlix. and lii.) Of the state of degradation which in later days was the lot of those who followed this unprofitable trade, the following rimes (preserved in one of the Ashmolean MSS.) afford a melancholy specimen. They are the production of Richard Sheale, the author of the older ballad of Chevy Chace (see *Percy's Rel.* vol. 1. p. 2. and *British Bibliographer*, vol. 3. p. 3).

Now for the good chear that Y have had heare,
I gyve you hartte thanks, with bowyng off my shankes.
Desyryng you be petycyon to graunte me suche commission,
Becaus my name ys Sheale, that both by meate & meale
To you I maye resorte, sum tyme to mye cumforte.
For I perseive here at all tymis is good chere.
Both ale wyne & beere, as hit dothe nowe apere.
I perseve wythoute fable ye kepe a good table,
Some tyme I wyll be your geste, or els I were a beaste,
Knowynge off your mynde, yff I wolde not be so kynde,
Sumtyme to tast youre cuppe, & wyth you dyne & suppe.

The reader being now in possession of the entire poem, will be enabled to decide for himself the question of its age and authenticity. If the whole be not fictitious, (a supposition hardly to be reconciled with its minuteness of personal detail and want of poetical interest,) the Editor is inclined to refer its original composition to the middle of the 5th century, and, of course, to a Continental writer. The bard declares himself to have been present at the contest of the Huns with some of the Gothic tribes, (distinguishing the Huns as the people of Attila,) to have visited Hermanric king of the Goths, and Guthere king of Burgundy. Now Attila died in 453, Hermanric son of Samson reigned over the Visigoths in Italy about 460, and the contemporary monarch of the Burgundians appears to have been Gunderic, a name easily confounded with, or corrupted into, that of Guthere. It may be added that neither Charlemagne nor any of his more noted predecessors appear in his list of kings. It might also perhaps be argued, from the number of obscure or forgotten tribes particularized by name, that the poem was com-

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I can be contente, yf hit be oute of Lente,
A peace of byffe to take, mye honger to aslake.
Bothe mutton & veile ys goode for Rycharde Sheale.
Thogge I look so grave, I were a veri knave
Yf I wolde thynke skorne, ethar even or morne,
Beyng in hongar, of fresshe samon or konger.
I desyre youe alwaye, marke what I do saye,
Althogge I be a ranger, to tayk me as no stranger.
I am a yonge begynner, & when I tayk a dynner,
I can fynde yn my hart wyth my frende to tayk a part
Of such as God shal sende, & thus I mayk an ende;
Now farewel, good myn oste, I thanke youe for yowre coste,
Untyll another tyme, & thus do I ende my ryme.

R. SHEALE.

The lover of early poetry may compare these with the exquisite farewell of the minstrel commencing "*Now B'nes and buirdes bolde and blythe,*" published by Ritson from the Vernon MSS. (*Ancient Songs*, p. 44.)

posed before the various subdivisions of the Gothic race had coalesced into larger empires.

Whether or no this date be correctly assigned, there appears little doubt but that the writer must have been a native of the Continent. He speaks of his own countrymen the Myrginges, the Angles, and the Suevi, as having been for some time *contermini*, which could not have been the case in England, of which country one might at first sight, from the similarity of the words Myrginges and Myrcas (*Mercians*), have suspected him to be a native. Who these Myrginges, however, were, is more than can perhaps, in the present state of our knowledge as to the history and geography of those dark and turbulent ages, be readily decided. Can they be the Marsigni of Tacitus? The same obscurity rests on the Baninges, Rondinges, Hocinges, Frumtinges, and many other tribes mentioned in the course of the poem: but this difficulty is common even to the professedly historical documents of the same period. No antiquary has yet been found capable of throwing light on the names of the "*gentes bellicosissimæ*," said by Jornandes[1] to have been subdued by the great Hermanric.

That the poem, however, as here given, is the unaltered production of a bard of the 5th century, it is by no means intended to affirm. Although every thing conspires to fix its original composition to that period, it is doubtless, in its present state, more safe to regard it as a translation or *rifaccimento* of an earlier work.

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[1] Cap. 23.

ANGLO-SAXON POEM

CONCERNING

THE EXPLOITS OF BEOWULF THE DANE.

THIS singular production, independently of its value as ranking among the most perfect specimens of the language and versification of our ancestors, offers an interest exclusively its own. It is unquestionably the earliest composition of the heroic kind extant in any language of modern, or rather of barbarous, Europe. The only copy known to exist is preserved in a manuscript apparently of the tenth century, one of the number fortunately rescued from the fire which consumed so great a part of the Cottonian library, and now deposited with the other remains of that magnificent collection in the British Museum[1]. With the exception of some trifling injuries, sustained probably at the time of that event, it is perfect and legible throughout.

It was first noticed by H. Wanley[2], as far back as the year 1705. He states with truth that its subject is the exploits of Beowulf, although he is mistaken in adding that they were performed in battle against the petty monarchs (*regulos*) of Sweden. From the time of Wanley I am not aware that it was examined by any of our Saxon antiquaries until Mr. S. Turner made some pretty copious extracts from the opening cantos, a literal translation from which he has inserted in the Essays attached to his learned and valuable history of the Anglo-Saxons[3]. As it will readily be perceived by every one

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[1] *Bib. Cot. Vitellius* A.

[2] In the Catalogue of Saxon MSS. which forms the 3d vol. of Hickes's *Thesaurus Lit. Septent.* p. 218.

[3] Vol. 2. p. 294 of the quarto edition.

acquainted with that able work, that Mr. Turner's view of the poem does not altogether coincide with that contained in the present abstract[1], the writer is anxious to account for his difference from a friend whose opinion on subjects of this nature is not lightly to be questioned, and to the general accuracy and extent of whose researches he feels himself, in common with every lover of our national antiquities, most deeply indebted. No imputation can, in fact, attach to the acuteness or industry of Mr. Turner. He was deceived by an accident, the transposition of a single leaf in the MS., which for some years laid the present Editor (who had made for his own use a faithful transcript of the part analysed by Mr. Turner) under a nearly similar mistake as to the subject of the poem[2]: a mistake at length rectified by the labours of an eminent foreign scholar, to whom we owe the first and only edition of the entire work. This appeared from the press of Copenhagen in the year 1815, and contains, together with the original, a Latin translation nearly literal; a preface, and two copious indices, (constructed on such a plan as partly to supply the absence of notes,) from the pen of G. J. Thorkelin, a name already celebrated in the annals of Northern literature. It had long (he states) been the wish of Arnas Magnusen, Suhm, and other learned and patriotic Danes, to obtain the publication, or the transcription at least, of a document so evidently connected with the early history of their country, and possessing such unquestion-

[1] Mr. Turner represents Beowulf as the enemy of Hrothgar. It will be seen that the object of his expedition was to assist that monarch against the attacks of a powerful and mysterious aggressor.

[2] The leaf in question now stands as part of the first, whereas it in reality belongs to the 11th canto. Had Mr. T's object rendered it necessary for him to carry his examination as far as this point, he would doubtless at once have perceived the deficiency in the former, and the redundancy in the latter. But as it was fully sufficient for his purpose to extract a part only of the commencement, he was naturally misled not merely as to the argument of the poem, but also as to the construction of many passages, which, without a general notion of its drift, are nearly unintelligible.

able claims to a high antiquity. Circumstances however, which are not clearly explained, prevented the accomplishment of their wishes until the year 1786, when Thorkelin, then on an antiquarian visit to this country, made a faithful copy of the whole. This, with a translation and commentary which had cost him much labour and expense, was ready for publication in the year 1807, when the whole was unhappily destroyed, together with great part of his literary and personal property, during the siege of Copenhagen by the British forces.

The encouragement however of some powerful friends, induced the literary veteran to recommence the task of preparing the work for the press, a task performed under many disadvantages in the edition above mentioned. The Saxon scholar must not therefore be surprised or displeased if he discover numberless inaccuracies both in the text and version of Thorkelin, nor the more general reader feel disappointed if he finds himself able to collect from the latter no more than a vague and superficial outline of the story. Imperfect as the publication certainly is, it is still a very valuable accession to our limited stock of information in this branch of our national antiquities.

Such is the literary history of this ancient poem. Before we proceed to examine into its age, origin, or contents, it appears necessary to state, that for the purpose of making the present abstract, the text has been throughout carefully collated with the original manuscript, and the translation of Thorkelin revised with all the diligence of which the Editor is capable.

The manuscript is, as was before stated, apparently of the 10th century; to the earlier part of which the late Mr. Astle was inclined to attribute it. Whether the poem itself be, in its present dress, of a higher antiquity than this, we have no evidence external or internal which might enable us to pronounce. In the opinion of Thorkelin, it was originally written in the language of Denmark by an author cotemporary and personally acquainted with his heroes, the chief of whom, Beowulf, he supposes to be the same with Bo-

or Bous son of Odin, said by Saxo Grammaticus to have fallen in battle with Hother about the year 340[1].

Thorkelin further conceives that the present translation may possibly have been executed by or at the command of the illustrious Alfred. It is with some diffidence, and not till after an attentive examination, that the present editor ventures to doubt, with a single exception, the whole of these conjectures. The only point in which Thorkelin's hypothesis appears to him to be borne out by the language and aspect of the poem, is the probability that it may be a translation or rifaccimento of some earlier work. The writer speaks of his story as one of ancient days, and more than once appeals for his authority either to popular tradition or to some previously existing document. Whatever was his age, it is evident that he was a Christian, a circumstance which has perhaps rendered his work less frequent in allusions to the customs and superstitions of his pagan ancestors, and consequently somewhat less interesting to the poetical antiquary than if it had been the production of a mind acquainted

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[1] *Saxo Grammaticus, H. D.* lib. 3. p. 46. There appears, however, to be no similarity in the fortunes or family of the two chieftains. The resemblance which the name of Boe possesses to the first syllable of that of Beowulf is but precarious ground for assuming that it designates the same person. It is extraordinary that Thorkelin has deprived our hero in another place of the first syllable also of his name. In the course of the poem one Hrothwulf is incidentally mentioned, whom he pronounces, upon no discoverable grounds, to be the same with Beowulf. The notion that the writer was cotemporary with his hero seems to be grounded on a misconstruction of some passages of the work, and is in effect contradicted by the general tenor of its language, and the highly marvellous tinge which is given to various parts of the story: such colouring, though in a traditionary tale we might naturally expect to find it, would scarcely be ventured on by a cotemporary. The supposition concerning Alfred is purely gratuitous. Upon the whole,—yet without the remotest wish of detracting from the obligation which the learned septuagenarian has conferred on the literature both of our own and of his native country,—one cannot but regret that the task of publishing and illustrating this valuable remnant of antiquity had not fallen into the hands of one more intimately versed in the genius and construction of our Saxon Poetry.

only with that wild and picturesque mythology which forms so peculiar and attractive a feature of the earlier productions of the Scandinavian muse.

It remains only to add, that the poem of Beowulf has been placed thus early in the present volume, under the impression that it was (as Thorkelin conjectures) translated or modernized, in the Dano-Saxon period of our history, from an original of much higher antiquity. The internal evidence of its language, and the structure of its sentences, in which it much resembles the poems attributed to Cædmon, would appear to justify our attributing it, in its present form, to the same æra which produced those singular compositions[1].

That its phraseology and allusions are frequently less intelligible may be readily accounted for by the greater obscurity of the subject[2], an obscurity which the editor is anxious to plead in extenuation of the errors which will doubtless be found in his own attempts to render this interesting relique of antiquity more generally accessible[3].

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[1] About A.D. 700, if we agree with Junius; if with Hickes, about 900. (See the article on Cædmon below.)

[2] It may be added that the original MS. does not appear to have been executed with the usual accuracy and neatness of the Saxon transcribers.

[3] In order to preserve the narrative uninterrupted, those portions of the original which have been selected as best fitted for the purpose of illustration, will be found at the end of the abstract; they are chiefly such as, in the abstract itself, are rendered into blank verse. In compliance with the wish of some antiquarian friends, the collation of Thorkelin's edition with the original MS. is subjoined.

BEOWULF.

LIST! we have learnt a tale of other years,
Of kings and warrior Danes, a wondrous tale,
How æthelings bore them in the brunt of war.

Thus the poet announces what has now so entirely indeed become "a tale of other years," that little or no light can be drawn even from the copious stores of Scaldic literature for the illustration of either the personages or events which it commemorates.

The introduction is occupied by the praises of Scefing, a chieftain of the Scylding family, (who appears to have been the founder of a kingdom in the western part of Denmark,) and of his son and successor Beowulf. The embarkation of the former on a piratical expedition is then detailed at some length. In this expedition (if I rightly understand the text) himself and his companions were taken or lost at sea.

CANTO I.

Beowulf now ascended the throne of his father, and was after a long and prosperous reign succeeded by his son Healfdene, who became the father of three sons and a daughter (Elan), given in marriage to a chieftain of the Scylfings. Of his three sons, Heorogar, Hrothgar, and Halgatil, the eldest appears to have died before himself, the second (Hrothgar) succeeded to the throne, and is represented as being at the period of the present story much advanced in years. Soon after his accession to the royal dignity he had employed himself, we are told, in the erection of a splendid palace or

hall (named Heorot or Heort) for the reception and entertainment of his friends and companions in war.

A hall of mead, such as for space and state
The elder time ne'er boasted; there with free
And princely hand he might dispense to all
(Save the rude crowd and men of evil minds)
The good he held from Heaven. That gallant work,
Full well I wot, through many a land was known
Of festal halls the brightest and the best.
Hertha its name,—for so the monarch will'd
Whose word was power; beneath that echoing roof
His bidden guests he honour'd, dealing oft
Bracelet and ring of the pure silver wrought,
Fit gift for high and princely festival.

But this exhibition of royal munificence was destined to become the cause of much bloodshed and misery.

For one stranger foe,
Gloomy and forceful, long with deep despite
Heard from his dark abode day after day
Their joyous revelry: for oft uprose,
Loud ringing through those bowers, the harp's glad voice;
And oft the bard, whose memory's treasured store
Was of the days and generations past,
Waked the sweet song; "Of Him who first outspread
And compass'd with the waves earth's lovely face;
The' Almighty one: how, glorious in his might,
The lights of Heaven far-beaming, sun, and moon,
He set on high for man—for man adorn'd
Earth's various climes with forest, fruit, and flower,
Quickening to life each form of things that be."
Thus fared the chieftains in their day of bliss
Right gallantly, till that foul and hateful fiend

Wreak'd on them his sad vengeance; that fierce spirit
Roaming the marches in his lonely might—
The Grendel—he that by the Fifel tribe
Fastness and fen-land held and dark morass,
Unholy wanderer.

This evil and mysterious enemy, who is elsewhere described as a magician (helruna), as possessed of more than human strength and stature, and as invulnerable to all weapons of earthly mould, "was," the poet continues, "of the progeny of Cain, who were exiled in consequence of the sin of their ancestor; a wicked and gigantic race, of whom came the Jutes, Ylfes, and Orcneas." Grendel himself was, it seems, a Jute, one of those earlier inhabitants of the Cimbric Chersonese, whom the hatred and perhaps in some cases the fear of the later Gothic settlers had invested with many terrific and supernatural attributes.

CANTO II.

This is chiefly occupied with a detail of the nightly ravages committed by the Grendel on the court of Hrothgar. At his first visit to Heort he is stated to have destroyed thirty of its slumbering and unsuspicious inhabitants. From this time he continued to wage an implacable warfare against the objects of his revenge and envy. No champion could be found of sufficient strength to contend against him; nor was there any hope, adds the poet, of removing his enmity by fee or ransom. Even that which appears to have been the last resource of the monarch and his despairing courtiers—an appeal to their false deities—was unavailing. The canto terminates with some reflections on their superstition, which (with the reference made to Cain in the one preceding) sufficiently prove the translator, if not the original author, to have been a Christian.

CANTO III.

So on the breast of Halfdane's prudent son
Continual sorrow prey'd; nor wist he still
What might avail to quell his fiendish foe:
For all too strong was that oppressor's hand,
Loathsome and dark, that long with hateful force
Wreak'd on the Dane his nightly work of blood.
Such tidings of the Grendel and his deeds
The Goths' high chief, the thane of Higelac, learnt;
He that was strongest of the sons of men.
And soon that noble soldier bad array
A goodly ship of strength. The hero spoke
His brave intent, far o'er the sea-bird's path
To seek the monarch at his hour of need.
Full swift address'd them to that enterprise
His loved associates. Of the Gothic race
Thrice five bold champions chose the dauntless chief,
Keenest in fight beyond their fellows known.
They sought the bark; a wary pilot first,
Well in his seacraft skill'd, each landmark taught.
And now the chief delay'd not, for their vessel
Was on the waters; by the sea-girt cliffs
She floated, while the ready warriors plied
Near the tide-beaten sands the well poised oar.—
Deep in her hold all the bright gear of war,
Armour and arms, were stow'd, as fitted best
The willing purpose of their way.—And now
By favouring winds propell'd, e'en as a bird
She cut the waves that foam'd around her prow.
Thus ere the second day had closed upon them—
So swift they swept the deep—the eager host

Saw the bright cliffs and lengthen'd headlands rise,
And knew in that steep shore their destined port.
Soon on the beach the men of Northern sires
Descending, bless'd the power that sped their way,
And moor'd their bark, and donn'd their glittering mail.
Nor was it long, ere he who held in charge
To guard each inlet of the rocky coast,
The Scylding's warden, from his tower descried
The prompt and well train'd band in fair array
Bearing their bright shields onwards. Then arose
Care in his heart, and question, who might be
That stranger host; and straight he flew to horse
And sought the shore, and high uplifted shook
His herald staff, and thus in solemn guise
Bespoke them: "Whence and what ye are, declare,
Who thus in arms o'er ocean's watery path
Have urged to Denmark's coasts your rapid keel.
'Tis mine, the warden of the seas, to hold
With loyal care these outposts for the Dane,
Lest pirate force assail them. * * *
* * * * * * * * * *
And sure, methinks, mine eyes ne'er yet beheld
A chief of nobler port than him that leads you;
No stranger (if his bright and beauteous aspect
Belies him not) to the proud garb of war,
Nor in its toils unhonour'd. Speak ye then,
Ere yet your further march explore our realm,
Or friend or foe, your names and kindred speak.
Hear, ye far-faring tenants of the wave,
My full and clear demand—soonest were best
To give me answer—whence and what ye are."

CANTO IV.

Him answering straight, the chieftain freely oped
The treasury of his speech: "Our race and blood
Is of the Goth, and Higelac our lord:
My sire was known of no ignoble line,
(Well may he live in wise men's memories,)
Ecgtheow his name; full many a winter's tide
Pass'd o'er him, ere he left this nether earth.
In peace and truth we come to seek thy prince,
Halfdane's illustrious son, with proffer'd aid
To shield his people. Thou hast judged us falsely;
For matters of high import have we sought
(Nor would conceal our quest) the royal Dane.
Thyself mayst judge, since haply thou hast known
For true or false, the traveller's sad report:
Men tell us that some foul and fiendish foe
At nightfall wages in the Scylding's bower
Uncouth and horrible war. In this his need
With no unfriendly purpose have we come,
If aught perchance we may devise of skill
Or force to aid thy loved and honour'd lord,
Should he return whose baleful outrage calls
For swift and sure revenge. So may the care
That ceaseless racks thy master's breast be still'd,
And (that oppressor's malice timely crush'd)
The festal mansion of thy nobles stand
Once more secure in peaceful majesty."
He spoke. The warden then (as best beseem'd
One conscious of high charge, in work and word
Fearless and prudent) the stout thane replied:
"Since now I know ye for the Scylding's friends,
Go forth, arm'd and caparison'd as ye list—

Go forth: but first (such caution ye may guess
The chance of pirate warfare soothly prompts)
Emptied of all her stores your new pitch'd bark
Draw upwards to the sands; there she may rest,
Till o'er the ocean streams she speed again,
Her arch'd neck proudly bearing to your home."

Having received this permission, and secured their vessel, they commenced their march towards Heort, whither the news of their arrival had preceded them, and appears at first to have excited some suspicions in the mind of Hrothgar.

CANTO V.

The bidden way those bold companions trod
Was of the well hewn stone. On each man's breast
The strong forged vest of war resplendent blazed;
Loud rang the linked mail, as in their pride
They bore them onwards to fair Hertha's bower.
There by its lofty wall their ample shields,
Stout in the storm of bucklers, they reposed,
And bow'd them to their seats. Together piled
Stood the bold seaman's weapons, haft of ash
And head of glittering steel. And soon upspoke
A sturdy chief, and sought the warriors' quest:
"Speak whence ye come, and wherefore, thus in arms,
With shield, and sark of mail, and frowning helm:
The' attendant guard of Hrothgar bids you speak,
Since ne'er beheld we yet of stranger tribe
So proud array and warlike. Well I ken
With high intent and friendly yo have sought
The hall of Hrothgar, nought of secret feud
Or open insult purposing." Him anon
The' undaunted chieftain answer'd; from beneath

His crested helm the leader of that host
Spoke gallantly: "The trusty thanes are we
Of Higelac, and Beowulf is my name:
Mine errand will I show to your high lord,
Halfdan's illustrious son, if he permit
Our loyal greeting." Thus he shortly spake;
And Wulfgar (he of the Vendelic race
Chiefest for wisdom as for valour known)
Quick answer gave: "To Denmark's generous lord,
The princely Scylding, will I straight unfold
The purpose of your journey, and anon
Such answer as his goodness deigns, return."
He spoke, and nought delaying sped his steps
Where Hrothgar sat amid his banded earls,
Reverend and bald with years. Full nigh his side
The hero stood; and soon the monarch knew
That faithful thane, and his swift message heard.

The messenger's oration briefly announces the arrival of the strangers and the name of their leader, urging their dignified and warlike appearance as an inducement to the aged monarch to gratify them by his favourable reception.

CANTO VI.

"I knew Beowulf well (answered Hrothgar) while he was yet a child,—the son of that Ecgtheow to whom the king of the Goths gave his own daughter in marriage. Travellers have since related to me that he has the strength of thirty men. Doubtless Heaven has sent him to our assistance, and I am resolved to proffer him a noble recompense if he will undertake to deliver us from the attacks of the Grendel. Hasten, therefore, to invite into our palace him and his companions, and bid them welcome to the people of Denmark."

Wulfgar having delivered this answer, Beowulf and a part of his

companions are immediately admitted to the presence of Hrothgar, whom Beowulf is represented as addressing (in a manner not uncharacteristic of the age, or unlike that of the Homeric heroes) with the commendation of his own prowess, and the expressions of his readiness to undertake the proposed contest.

"Thou Hrothgar, hail!
I am the thane and kin of Higelac;
One that have master'd in my day of youth
Full many a deed of gallant enterprise.
And now in mine own country have I heard
Bruited by loud report the Grendel's wrong:
For strangers told, that, soon as evening's light
Beneath Heaven's vault sought its deep hiding-place,
Thy princely bower all emptied of its guests
Stood useless. Then this valiant band and wise,
Counsell'd that I should seek thee at thy need;
For they best knew my prowess, they had seen me,
What time I came deep dyed in hostile gore
From dread and perilous war; then in one night
With hardy grasp I quell'd five savage Jutes,
And plunged them howling in the ocean wave.
And now with Grendel, with that guilty one,
Fiend though he be, alone will I assay
The mortal strife.
"I have heard
That that foul miscreant's dark and stubborn flesh
Recks not the force of arms:—such I forswear,
Nor sword nor burnish'd shield of ample round
Ask for the war; all weaponless, hand to hand
(So may great Higelac's smile repay my toil)
Beowulf will grapple with this nightly foe.
There, as Heaven's righteous judgement shall award,
One of us falls.

"Should that fate be mine,
Give to its earthy grave my blood-stain'd corse,
Raise high the mound, where many a passer by
(Within the trench that circling marks the plain)
May swell with pious hand the stony mass
Unsorrowing—little need with long parade
Of tears to grace the banquet of the dead.
But this, the gorgeous mail that guards my breast,
By Weland's art high temper'd, duly send
To royal Higelac. Now, betide what may."

CANTO VII.

Hrothgar in answer, after expressing his gratification at so timely a prospect of assistance, and his recollection of Beowulf's father, recapitulates the injuries he has suffered from the unconquerable violence of the Grendel.

"Full oft my gallant thanes,
Fired by the generous mead, have rashly dared
With trenchant blade await the Grendel's force.
Then was this kingly hall ere dawn of day
Stain'd with man's life-blood, fresh on every bench
The gore steam'd horribly. So lost our state
Many a true liegeman; a sad death o'ertook them.
But ye, brave warriors, haste ye to the feast,
And in the hall of wassel as ye list
Be seated."

The heroes accordingly repair to the hall, and join in the festivity and copious libations of the Danish nobles.

CANTO VIII and IX.

Hunferth the son of Eglaf, who is elsewhere described as the orator of Hrothgar, jealous of the prowess of Beowulf, and warmed

by liquor, attacks him in a strain of sarcastic raillery on his piratical exploits, and prophesies that he will find in the Grendel a less tractable enemy than any he has yet encountered. Beowulf answers in a mild and dignified manner, recounts (perhaps as a kind of set-off against the charge of piracy) his exploits in the destruction of certain ferocious sea monsters, and concludes by insinuating that had the courage and strength of Hunferth been equal to his vanity, the Scylding had long ago been freed from the assaults of Grendel. Their conversation is now terminated by the entrance of Hrothgar and his queen Wealtheowa. The latter bears round with her own hand the mead-cup; and in offering it to Beowulf expresses her gratitude to Heaven and her confidence in his valour. The hero shortly answers, that from the time he embarked on the expedition he had fully made up his mind to deliver them from their unnatural enemy or to fall in the contest. Their festivities continued until the monarch (having previously saluted Beowulf, and committed to him in turn the charge and defence of his palace for the night) retired to his chamber.

CANTO X.

Beowulf, after the departure of Hrothgar, delivers the whole of his armour and weapons to his attendant; expresses in a short speech his conviction that against the Grendel they would be useless, and his acquiescence in whatsoever the will of Heaven should destine as the result of their contest, and retires to the couch prepared for him.

And round their chief that seaman band
Sought each his bed; but none was there whose soul
Thought to revisit thence his country's soil,
Kindred or friends, or town that gave them birth;
For well they knew that in that festal hall
Full many a gallant Dane the murderer's grasp
Had done to death.

But Heaven had decreed at length to release the subjects of the good Hrothgar from their insatiable oppressor. The night drew on, and every soul in the palace slept—save one.

CANTO XI.

When on the moor beneath the hill of mists
The Grendel came—a heaven-abandon'd wretch;—
The foul assassin thought in that high hall
To gorge some human prey. Onwards he pass'd
In darkness, till right near he might behold
That princely bower, the nobles' golden seat
Rich deck'd with many a mead-cup. Was not that
His first foul errand to the Scylding's courts:
But never yet had he encounter'd there
With mightier man or bolder. Soon he reach'd,
A joyless guest, that hall; soon, unopposed,
With giant arm fierce in his wrath dash'd down
Her iron-banded gates; and now he trod
Her chequer'd floor, angry of soul he moved,
A fiendish foe; and flamelike, as he strode,
Shot from his eyes a sad and hideous light.
There might he see the heroes at their rest—
A band of brothers. Then his heart was glad,
For sooth he thought, or ere the morrow dawn'd,
From each man's corpse to drain the blood of life.
Unhallow'd miscreant!
Firm of soul meanwhile
The thane of Higelac watch'd, full fain to prove
How that foul fiend would fare beneath his grasp.
Nor long delay the murderer brook'd; for still
In other days light effort had it cost
To slay the uncautious warrior in his sleep,
To crush the yielding bones, and from each vein

Draw the warm current. So he soon had refr
Body and limb (his foul repast) of life.
Now strode he onward, and with slaughterous hand
Pounced on the wary chief. He swift uprose
(Nor reckless of his aim nor weak of grasp)
And dash'd to that fair floor the' astounded foe.
Soon found that base one, that in the' elder time
(Since first he roam'd the waste) he ne'er might cope
With sterner soul or hand of hardier grasp.
Care was upon his heart and sudden dread;
Fain would he seek his own unhallow'd den,
And shroud himself in darkness, for he met
Such welcome as of old he wist not there.
Nor less bethought him of his evening pledge
The gallant thane of Higelac: firm he stood,
And seized the monster. Yet he might not triumph,
His hold was loosen'd, and the Jute was free.
Swift rush'd the hero forwards, all his care
Lest the dark murderer scape, and wing his flight
To fen and fastness. Soon again he felt
Beneath that grasp of power, that he had bent
In evil time his steps to Hrothgar's home.
Loud was the din, and fierce the champion's rage,
And keen the struggle. Ye had marvell'd then
How that fair hall might stand the furious shock
Unlevel'd with the plain;—nor had it stood,
But that the well wrought iron's massy force
Banded it round, and held it all compact.
Then from its base uptorn full many a couch
Splendid with gold, the mead-carouser's seat,
Fell, where they bore them in their angry mood.
Little the Scylding dreamt, when for his state
He had upraise that goodly edifice,
That art or force of mortal, save perchance

The sudden burst of all-destroying flame,
Might work such havoc there. Now louder rung
The sounds of war, aghast and anxious stood
On tower and castled wall the listening Dane:
They heard that heaven-detested miscreant howl
Sore wailing. No triumphant strain he raised
Whom he the strongest of the sons of men
Still with unloosen'd grasp victorious held.

CANTO XII.

The hero, resolutely bent on destroying his fiendish antagonist, "whose life (adds the poet with a remarkable simplicity of phrase) he thought of no use to any one," continued to press his advantage, and, although unarmed, (for he had not forgotten that the Grendel's flesh was invulnerable by earthly weapons) proved ere long that his bodily strength alone was sufficient for his purpose.

Soon the dark wanderer's ample shoulder bore
A gaping wound, each starting sinew crack'd,
And from its socket loosed the strong-knit joint.
The victory was with Beowulf, and the foe
Howling and sick at heart fled as he might,
To seek beneath the mountain shroud of mist
His joyless home; for well he knew the day
Of death was on him, and his doom was seal'd.

Thus were the injuries of Hrothgar avenged, and the arm and hand of the aggressor remained with the conqueror as evidence of his triumph.

CANTO XIII.

No sooner had the morning dawned, than the multitude impatiently crowded to assure themselves of the Grendel's defeat. He had himself in the mean time regained his obscure and inaccessible

hiding-place, where the loss of blood soon terminated his guilty existence, and his heathen soul (adds the poet, forgetting apparently for the moment that all his heroes were equally heathen) was conveyed to the infernal regions. The nobles now commenced their rejoicings for this unexpected event, some by horseracing, some by recounting the feats of the conqueror, and others by listening to the song of the bard; who is introduced as briefly recapitulating the achievements of some hero whose name is not mentioned. These appear to have consisted in the destruction of a dragon, and the attainment of a treasure of which the superstition of the age regarded those animals as the constant guardians. The subject of his song is little more than barely indicated, and the passage is very obscure. It was now full day, and the king, accompanied by his queen, and the whole of his *cortège*, entered the hall which had become the scene of Beowulf's triumph.

CANTO XIV.

Hrothgar having ascended his throne, and assured himself by a personal inspection of the Grendel's arm that his people was delivered from all chance of future molestation, expresses his gratitude to Heaven, and declares his intention of adopting the successful warrior as his own son. Beowulf answers in a strain of much self-complacency, enlarging on the difficulty he had encountered, and the certainty of the Grendel's having received such injury as it was impossible for him to survive. "*When* (continues the poet) *the son of Eglaf had ceased from the praises of his own heroic enterprise,* the chieftains hung up in the hall the hand of the Grendel; on each finger was a nail like steel, the *hand-spur* of the heathen." Loud and reiterated expressions of praise and astonishment accompanied, as might be expected, this gratifying exhibition.

CANTO XV.

The monarch Hrothgar's Heort (every part of which, with the exception of the roof, bore testimony to the violence of the late contest) to be prepared for the festival. Hangings wondrously embroidered with gold soon covered the walls, and the guests male and female, now free from all apprehension of future assault, assembled in unusual numbers. The king himself with his kinsman Hrothwulf presided at the banquet, nor had a larger or a worthier assemblage ever graced his presence. After the mead-cup had freely circulated, Hrothgar presents to Beowulf the spear, the golden-hilted sword, the helmet, and the breast-plate of his father Halfdane. "Little need had the champion to disdain such recompense, for never were four worthier gifts dispensed from the secret treasuries of the king." To these, however, were soon added eight well-fed mares, each equipped with a splendid war saddle, such as the king himself used "*in the play of swords.*"

CANTOS XVI and XVII.

Hrothgar proceeds to recompense not only the companions of Beowulf's expedition, but those also of his own subjects who had suffered from the incursions of the Grendel. Their festivities are again enlivened by the song of the bard. Its subject, though detailed somewhat more at length than that which occurs in the 13th canto, is yet obscure. It appears chiefly, however, to relate to a successful expedition of Halfdane against the Frisians, a Finnish tribe, in which their metropolis was taken and their queen Hilderburgh made prisoner.

> The tale was told, the gleeman's song was hush'd:
> Then rose from many a couch the sound of joy;
> From cups of wondrous mould the' attendant band

Dealt the bright wine.—Then came Wælthe*wa forth,
In golden pomp of bracelet and of crown.
Stately she moved to where the kinsmen sat
Of brother's blood, and brethren still in love;
Hrothgar with Hrothulf join'd, and at their feet
Hunferth, the lordly Scylding's orator.
Men knew him for a braggart of his tongue,
Haughty and high of speech, but never yet
Felt in the play of arms his ready aid.
Then spoke the queen: "Receive, my noble liege,
This brimming cup, and, as thy state demands,
Pledge the brave Goths with mild and gladsome words,
Not thoughtless of such gifts as use to wait
In this bright bower on friend and stranger guest.
Now is the champion near, who, if aright
I learn thy rumour'd purpose, soon shall bear
The name and honours of great Hrothgar's son."

The remainder of the speech is somewhat obscure. It appears (if I understand its purport rightly) to be strangely deficient both in morality and courtesy.

"Hertha is ransom'd, our bright bower of gold;
Quaff then while yet thou mayst the plenteous cup,
And leave the toil of empire to thy friends,
For thou must hence ere long to Heaven's high king.
Well know I our good Hrothwulf:—if 'tis thine
To quit, while he survive, this nether world,
His power will guard our offspring's rising state."
She spoke, and sought the mead-bench; there her sons
Hrethric and Hrothmund, with a gallant train
Of noble youths, in gay assembly sate;
And near that royal pair, the victor Dane.

CANTO XVIII.

Fresh gifts were now prepared for Beowulf; two rich armlets of gold, and the most splendid collar ever manufactured from the same precious metal. This ornament had formerly been the property of Higelac, the nephew of Swerting a noble Goth, and on his death (which happened in battle against the Frisii) had become the property of Hrothgar. These the queen presents with her own hands.

> "Wear these (she cried), since thou hast in the fight
> So borne thyself, that wide as ocean rolls
> Round our wind-beaten cliffs his brimming waves,
> All gallant souls shall speak thy eulogy."

She further bespeaks his protection and kindness for her children, and commends the union and fidelity by which the nobles of her own court were at all times distinguished. The feast continued until late in the evening, when a part of the company retired to their chambers, and others, as was their custom, prepared to sleep in the hall itself, which was fitted up for the purpose *"with bed and bolster,"* each man having his shield at his head, and his helmet, breast-plate and spear placed on a rack or shelf above him.

CANTO XIX.

The inmates of Heorote had anticipated no further intrusion on their slumbers; they were however mistaken, and one of them was destined to pay with his life the forfeit of his ill-timed security. Although their ancient enemy was no longer capable of annoying them, there was yet left one more of the savage and murderous *wanderers of the desert,—the mother of Grendel. This fiendish and evil-minded woman,* intent upon avenging the defeat and death of her son, quitted her retreat at nightfall and soon forced her way

into the midst of the hall. The mischief she did was of small extent, 'for her power," adds the poet, "was, in comparison to that of her son's, as the force of women when they engage in battle is to that of men." The warriors too, aroused from their sleep, equipped themselves with such weapons as were nearest at hand; and their aggressor no sooner found them on the alert, than she hastened to consult her safety in flight. She seized however on one, the favourite of Hrothgar, and retreated with her prey unhurt, for Beowulf was not there.

The news of this outrage soon reached the ears of Hrothgar; nor was Beowulf long unacquainted with it, or slow in assembling his companions, and repairing at their head to the presence-chamber.

CANTO XX.

Beowulf making the customary salutations and inquiries after the health of the monarch,

> "Speak not of health or joy (the Scylding cried),
> Fresh sorrow is upon us;—he is dead
> Whose arm and counsels long upheld our state,
> Æschere, the brother of our Yrmenlafe."

After a short eulogy on the fidelity and liberality of the deceased, he proceeds to inform Beowulf that his subjects constantly reported themselves to have seen Grendel roaming the moors in company with another being of his own savage and mysterious nature, bearing the form and features of a woman; that tradition was silent as to their parentage, but that their habitation was to be found at the distance of no more than a single mile from Heorote.

> There that foul spirit, howling as the wolves,
> Holds, by the perilous passage of the fen,
> Rude crag, and trackless steep, his dark abode.
> There from the headlong cliff rolls arrowy down

The fiery stream, whose wild and wondrous waves
The frequent and fast-rooted wood o'erhangs,
Shrouding them e'en as with the warrior's helm.
There nightly mayst thou see a sight of dread,
The flood of living flame.

The remainder of the description is less intelligible, but seems to imply that this unholy ground was further guarded by storm and hurricane, and that they who dared to approach it seldom failed to pay dear for their temerity, unless they avoided the hounds of Grendel by a timely flight. This speech (the monarch adds) is directed to thee alone.

"Thou know'st
That path of dread, and canst unerring track
The felon to his hold. Go, if thou dare;
And shouldst thou turn victorious from that quest,
Rich fee of high-wrought gold, choicest that decks
Our ancient treasury, yet again awaits thee."

CANTO XXI.

"Grieve not, my liege," Ecgtheow's brave son replied,
"Best counsel his, who seeks by swift revenge
To grace the memory of the friend he mourns.
Or soon or late one doom involves us all.
Work then who may ere that his destined day
Such deeds as Heaven's high judgement shall approve.
Rise, noble Hrothgar, let us instant track
The fiend's unholy footstep. Here I swear
She finds not refuge, nor in earth's deep caves,
Nor in the forest's covert, nor the' abyss
Of foaming ocean, fly she where she list.
So by the sorrows thou hast proved this day,
I pledge me to thy service."

At these welcome words the monarch leaped from his throne, and, returning thanks to the powers which had provided him with such a champion, commanded his steed to be immediately harnessed, and with a chosen band prepared to escort Beowulf to the Grendel's territory.

And now the heroes trod
The mountain pass, a steep and uncouth way
By cliff and cavern'd rock that housed within
The monsters of the flood: before them sped
Four chosen guides and track'd the uncertain road.
Now paused they sudden where the pine-grove clad
The hoar rock's brow, a dark and joyless shade.
Troublous and blood-stain'd roll'd the stream below.
Sorrow and dread were on the Scylding's host,
In each man's breast deep working; for they saw
On that rude cliff young Æschere's mangled head.
Now blew the signal horn, and the stout thanes
Address'd themselves to battle; for that strand
Was held by many a fell and uncouth foe,
Monster, and worm, and dragon of the deep.

After a sharp contest, in which many of these extraordinary partisans of the Grendel were destroyed and dragged to shore, Beowulf prepared to plunge into the flood in quest of the female marauder.

Now arm'd in proof, and resolute to dare
The terrors of that sea-flood, stood the Dane.
Bright was the helm, and of no vulgar price,
That deck'd his head; for there the workman's art
In days of old had wrought a wondrous charm,
The savage boar's rude semblance: so nor brand
Nor battle blade might harm the warrior's life.

Scarcely less valuable was his good sword "Hrunting."

Treasured from of old,
The armory's pride; high temper'd was the blade,
In herbs of strange and magic virtue steep'd;
Ne'er in the brunt of battle had it fail'd
His hand who durst essay the champion's path
Of dread and danger; nor was this, I wene,
Its first proud work of conquest and of fame.

In thus equipping himself, Beowulf was assisted by Hunferth (the orator celebrated in canto 8.), who we are told had now forgotten his drunken insolence, and readily lent his hand to gird another with the sword which he had little taste for wielding himself.

CANTO XXII.

Then spoke the venturous Goth. "Forget not now,
Illustrious son of Healfdene, royal Dane,
Prudent of soul, of gift and largess free,
Forget not, now that Beowulf stands prepared
For this high enterprise, thine evening pledge.
That, should my life be forfeit to thy need,
My memory finds in thee a father's care,
And this my faithful band a patron's aid.
Then what of gift thy bounty hath bestow'd
To royal Higelac send: so may the Goth,
When that rich treasure meets his wondering eye,
Learn that his champion found no niggard boon
At Hrothgar's princely hand: that prize be his.
But this my sword, whose keenly-temper'd edge
Of wondrous mold and ancient, long hath served me,
Let Hunferth bear, fit guerdon of his fame.
For me, if death forbid not, Hrunting speeds
This work of just revenge." The hero spoke,

Nor waited answer, but impetuous brayed
The whelming surge.

The female who had for ages held undisputed possession of these domains, soon perceived that some "creature of earth" had invaded them. She seized and dragged him, encumbered as he was by his armour, "*to the bottom*," says the original, "*of the flood.*" In his way he was attacked by many of her attendant monsters, but to his astonishment escaped without injury, both from these, and from the destructive element which surrounded him. He was now in the regions

where the fire-flood shed
Its deep and livid light.

Here he attempted to make a stand, but found that even his good sword Hrunting, which had never yet deceived him in battle, availed no more against the mother than it would have done against the son. He threw the weapon from him in anger, and, relying on the strength of his arm alone, grappled with his unnatural adversary. The contest was long and doubtful; but at length the Grendel, extricating herself from his grasp, aimed at his heart so powerful a blow of her falchion, as must inevitably have terminated his existence, had it not been resisted by the temper of his breast-plate, and the protecting arm of that power which had hitherto befriended his efforts in the cause of justice.

CANTO XXIII.

Then spied he mid the treasures of that realm
A wondrous brand and vast; keen was the blade,
For Jutes had forged it in the days of old.
He saw and mark'd its power;—no feebler hand
In the stern play of battle had sufficed
To wield its giant fabric,—but the Goth
Full lightly seized the hilt.

His opponent quickly discovered that the chances were no longer in her favour: despairing of success and even of life, she made one more ferocious effort; but Beowulf was now in possession of no ordinary weapon, and he used it with no ordinary power. At a single stroke he cut through the "*ringed bones*" of her neck, and

> Through the frail mantle of the quivering flesh
> Drove with continuous wound. She to the dust
> Fell headlong,—and, its work of slaughter done,
> The gallant sword dropp'd fast a gory dew.
> Instant, as though heaven's glorious torch had shone,
> Light was upon the gloom,—all radiant light
> From that dark mansion's inmost cave burst forth.
> With hardier grasp the thane of Higelac press'd
> His weapon's hilt, and furious in his might
> Paced the wide confines of the Grendel's hold.

His object was the destruction of the miscreant himself. He found him, however (as might have been anticipated), already lifeless. Desirous of presenting Hrothgar with some memorial of his victory, he proceeded to sever the monster's head from his body, which was readily accomplished by a second blow of the Jutish weapon. The effusion of blood caused by this double slaughter soon copiously tinged the waters of the torrent; and the apprehensions which Hrothgar and his suite had all along entertained for his safety, led them immediately to the painful conclusion that their champion had fallen. Hrothgar, sick at heart, returned to his palace for the purpose of presiding, as was his custom, at the banquet of his nobles; but the faithful companions of Beowulf yet lingered on the strand—

> Long had they gazed
> Upon that whelming wave, and now they saw
> (Yet scarce their hearts gave credence to the sight)
> Their chief himself restored: fresh wonders straight

Held them intent, for that stout sword of proof,
Its warrior task fulfill'd, dropp'd to the ground
(So work'd the venom of the felon's blood)
A molten mass,—ev'n as the icicle,
When He, whose will the varying seasons own,
Looseth the frosty fetters that enchain
The watry waste, maker and sire of all.

Beowulf thus lost no inconsiderable part of his trophy; for, with the exception of this wonder-working weapon and the head of Grendel, he had brought off, we are told, nothing from the cavern. The waves of the torrent, which had opposed such a formidable barrier to his entrance, now subsided to so perfect a calm as readily to admit of his swimming, encumbered as he was, to the bank on which his friends had taken their station. Their expressions of congratulation and thankfulness to Heaven were unbounded. They soon relieved him both from his accoutrements (which had suffered much in the contest, and were thoroughly drenched by the water), and from that more ponderous memorial of his victory, the Grendel's head,—which, when slung from the shaft of a spear, was with difficulty supported by four of the strongest men. In this state they proceeded homewards, and, after greeting the delighted monarch, displayed their hideous trophy in the banqueting-hall to the great admiration, as the bard informs us, of the assembled chieftains and their ladies.

CANTOS XXIV and XXV.

Then Beowulf spoke: "In sign of honour due,
Great son of Halfdene, lo, we bring thee here
A seaman's offering, no unjoyous sight
To thee and to the Scyldings' ancient folk.
This stern and forceful miscreant did I quell,
And now beneath the waters have I waged
Unequal war;—but victory crowns the right."

He proceeds to acknowledge that, unless Heaven had befriended him by throwing in his way the Jutish sword, the preternatural strength of his adversary had left him but little hope of success. He briefly recapitulates the more remarkable events of the contest, and "Thus," he concludes,

> "have I redeem'd my pledge
> That thou, with all the liegemen of thy state,
> Thanes, nobles, gallant youth, and honour'd age,
> Shouldst rest secure in Hertha's joyous bower."

The golden hilt belonging to the weapon, which had been so strangely fused by the Grendel's blood, was now delivered to Hrothgar, and found upon examination to contain the name of the person for whose use it was first destined, and other documents (unless I have erred in my construction of the original, which is here somewhat obscure) purporting to be scarcely more recent than the period when "the race of giants" was destroyed by the Flood. Hrothgar now addresses Beowulf in a speech of considerable length, passing from the congratulations and thanks due to his achievement, to a strain of moral reflection on the uncertainty of human power and prosperity, which, though somewhat prolonged, is yet strikingly in character with the age and situation of one who having in his younger days seen all his enterprises crowned with success, and anticipated a reign of glory and independence, now finds himself at the end of his career indebted to a stranger for the protection of his metropolis and person. He concludes by applying his reflections to the present and future fortunes of himself and his champion.

> "Chieftain! give place not to presumptuous thought.
> Now is thy prowess in its flower of prime;
> But the day comes, when pain, or slow disease,
> Or the fire's ravening force, or whelming flood,
> Or battle blade, or arrow's deadly flight,

Or hateful age, or the more sudden stroke
That dims and quells at once our mortal sight,
Shall rack thy heart, and bow thee to thy doom;
Conquering the conqueror. So full many a year
Under high heaven did Hrothgar hold this realm,
And spread from land to land his warrior sway.
Right little dreamt I in that hour of pride
That aught might rise beneath yon firmament,
Of power to work me sorrow or annoy.
Then came that fell destroyer, strong to wreak
His ancient feud, and ceaseless care was mine."

He now dismisses the warrior to his couch, who, fatigued with the labours of the day, and possibly also with the Nestorian eloquence of the monarch, gladly, we are told, complies with the proposal. After retiring therefore amidst the congratulations of the nobles assembled in Herote, he slept soundly with his companions until "*the raven*" announced the dawn of the ensuing day. Impatient to return homewards, they rose at his earliest song; and every thing being arranged for their journey, Beowulf, having first presented the orator Hunferth with his good sword Hrunting, proceeds to take his leave of Hrothgar.

CANTO XXVI.

Beowulf, in bidding farewell to Hrothgar, declares himself amply satisfied with his treatment and remuneration; proffers, in the event of any similar emergency, the assistance of himself and a thousand tried and trusty followers, and answers for his sovereign's readiness to forward at all times "by word and work" the wishes of his host. "Never yet (returns Hrothgar) did I meet with such wisdom joined to such youth and strength. Assuredly, should disease or war de-

prive them of their present monarch, and no heirs be left of his family, the Gothic people would act most wisely in placing Beowulf on their throne." He concludes with a grateful encomium on the friendliness and good faith of Higelac and his subjects. Yet further gifts, the number of which (twelve) is stated, though their nature is left undescribed, are bestowed on the Goths. The good king then embraced "the best of champions," and tears gushed from his eyes; for, old as he was, he despaired of ever again seeing him, and "the feelings of his breast were such as could not be stifled." Beowulf, with his companions, now departed, rich in treasure, for the spot where his vessel lay at anchor; and as they journeyed, every tongue was occupied with the praise of Hrothgar's munificence.

CANTO XXVII.

Now to the sea-flood came that high-born host,
A gallant train, and every limb encased
In sark of netted mail. Them soon espied,
True to his charge, the warder of the coast.
Nor deem'd he fitting from his hold of strength
By sign alone to hail the parting guests;
Onwards he rode, and bad them freely seek,
With kindliest greeting sped, the Gothic shore.
Then soon their ship her gold-enwreathed prow
Gave proudly to the waters, laden deep
With warlike gear, steeds, arms, and treasured gold,
The choicest meed of Hrothgar's ample store.
But first, in payment of the warder's care,
The generous chieftain gave a noble brand
Radiant with gold, such as in after time
Might grace him joyous in the feast of mead;
Then sought his bark, and o'er the watery deep

Drove gallantly, and lost the Danic strand.
Well was their mast caparison'd, I wis,
With its sea-harness, sail, and corded line.
The heroes sat within, and favouring gales
Bore on her way the traveller of the sea.
Fair sped the courser of the waves,—the spray
Foam'd sparkling round her arch'd and golden neck.
So pass'd she the deep flood, till full in sight
Their native cliffs and well-known headlands rose;
Then sated with the breeze stood close for shore.
Espied them soon the warder of that port,
He that had waited long in anxious hope
Their glad return. He hail'd, and quick to land
Drew and secured by the' anchor's well curved grasp
That bark of noble freightage,—lest or wind
Or briny wave her goodly timbers mar.
And now they bad unlade her golden store,
Armour, and cup, and chain: nor far the way
Ere they might reach the bower of Higelac,
Hrethel's illustrious son. Bright was the hall
Where mid his banded thanes the monarch sate,
Youthful in days, in treasured wisdom old.

The remainder of this Canto is occupied by a digression, introduced with sufficient abruptness, in which the poet relates, or rather alludes to, the wickedness and cruelty of the daughter of Hæreth, who, if I understand the passage rightly, appears to have been Higelac's queen. The whole is extremely obscure.

CANTOS XXVIII and XXIX.

"The torch of the world was shining from the south," says the bard, when Beowulf with his train reached the palace of Higelac.

Here a repast was speedily prepared, of which these heroes alone, and the immediate *cortège* of the monarch, were allowed to partake. It was scarcely dispatched when Higelac, who could no longer repress his curiosity, questioned his champion as to the event of the expedition; premising that he had himself entertained the most painful apprehensions of its failure, and had always exhorted Beowulf to let the Danes fight their own battles. Beowulf replies in a set speech, first briefly stating that he had destroyed both the Grendel and his mother; then, after dilating on the excellence of Hrothgar's government and the happiness of his court, proceeds to relate in detail the whole of his adventure. This is not done (as the critics have objected to the poems of the Homeric age) by simple repetition of the former narrative, but the whole is compressed, and the diction varied with sufficient artifice. As, however, the matter (with the exception of those parts which relate to the personal history of Hrothgar and his family, and which are very obscure) is already known to the reader, I have extracted only a single specimen, which affords a pleasing and characteristic picture of the accomplishments and *bearing* of the good Hrothgar.

The morrow rose, and all
Were gather'd to the banquet.—Mirth was there
And loud rejoicing;—nor did Hrothgar scorn
To mingle with our speech, now questioning,
With wise intent and word, his stranger guests
Of men and things afar;—then would he wake
The harp's sweet melody, and sing meanwhile
Some lay of truth and sorrow, or recount
In well imagined phrase the lofty tale.
Then spoke that hoary warrior of his youth,
And his youth's race of valour and of arms.
What heart but warm'd as the time-honour'd man
Bespoke our listening train? So joyous pass'd
The livelong day.

The narrative of Beowulf extends nearly to the middle of the 29th Canto. We are then informed that the hero made over the more valuable of Hrothgar's presents to his own sovereign, who in return confers on him a splendid ornament or order of knighthood, and a fief or principality containing seven thousand vassals. In process of time, yet further gifts and honours were heaped upon him; and after the death of Higelac and his son Hearede, who appear both to have fallen in battle, he was called to fill the throne of the Scylfings.

The narrative, which it has thus been attempted to analyse, of Beowulf's successful expedition against the Grendel, occupies nearly two-thirds of the manuscript; and, had the poet terminated his labours at this point, his composition would have added to the other qualifications which entitle it in some degree to the name of Epic, that of unity of plan; a praise seldom perhaps to be conceded to the earlier and more barbarous efforts of the heroic muse. He proceeds however, without interruption or apology, to the details of an adventure in which the same hero, fifty years after his elevation to the throne, was destined to engage, as might naturally be anticipated, with far other success. Until this period he had reigned prosperous and victorious, but at last

> the ranger of the darksome night,
> The Fire-drake came.

This unwelcome intruder (as far as we can gather from the fragments of the poem, much of which is here unfortunately obliterated,) had his den in a mount or barrow of stone, situated on a rocky eminence unexplored by the foot of man. Here (in strict conformity to the general tenor of Scaldic fiction) he is said to have watched over the accumulated treasures of former ages. In the exercise of this trust he had conducted himself peaceably for more

than "three hundred winters," until in evil hour he was provoked to exchange it for the less harmless occupation of ravaging the territory, and devouring the subjects of the good Beowulf.

CANTO XXXII.

The Manuscript is at the commencement of this Canto much damaged, and what remains is consequently obscure. As we proceed, we find the aged monarch bewailing the condition to which the devastations of the monster have reduced his capital and its inhabitants. "They can no longer," he complains, "array themselves for battle, or enjoy the sounds of music, or exercise their good hawks and merles beyond the limits of the palace." The poet now returns to the immediate cause of the dragon's anger. He had (as it appears above) contented himself for many years with quietly watching over his "hoard of heathen gold," until some unhappy traveller having discovered his retreat, reported its valuable contents to the monarch. It was in consequence, during the slumbers of its inhabitant, pillaged of a part of its treasures, and its interior, "the work of men in times long past," disclosed to the wondering eyes of the populace. When "the worm awoke," perceiving that his desolate abode had been visited by hostile footsteps, he first repeatedly traversed its outward boundary in quest of the aggressor. Disappointed in his search, he returned for the purpose of ascertaining the extent of the depredations committed on his treasury; and at nightfall proceeded, "breathing fire and destruction," to take an exemplary revenge on his troublesome neighbours. "Thus," adds the poet, "the beginning of the fray was fatal to the people, as its termination was afterwards to their prince."

CANTO XXXIII and XXXIV.

The dragon having once commenced his ravages, no "living creature" which fell in his way had power to escape or oppose

him. After spoiling and depopulating the country, he pursued his way to the metropolis itself, where the palace of Beowulf experienced the utmost severity of his vengeance. With no common feelings of sorrow and indignation the Goth learned that the most splendid of his mansions was "melted in the whelming flame." His resolution was soon taken, and he commanded his armour to be prepared, especially (says the bard) a breast-plate entirely of iron; for he was well aware that a shield composed of wood could avail but little for his protection against the fiery breath of his new antagonist. Thus prepared, he looked forward to the event of the enterprize with but little apprehension: for many and severe were the contests in which he had been victorious since his expedition against the Grendel. Here the poet takes the opportunity of digressing to a recapitulation of the various fortunes and achievements of his hero. This, like other digressions already noticed, being rather a series of allusions than a distinct and connected narrative of facts, is in most parts highly obscure.

So had Ecgtheow's son
In many a fray the foes presumption quell'd,
Stern in the work of valour, till the day
When that foul worm provok'd him to the war.
Now chose the indignant Goth twelve trusty thanes,
And bad them track the monster to his lair.
Swift at his bidding sped they to the bark,
Ample her bulk, and fitted well to hold
Treasure or arms in store. Full thirty chiefs
Were of that train. . . . . .
The sea-wave bore them till they might descry
A lonely earth-mound; hoar and drear it rose
Beneath a mountain's shelter, and within
Were wond'rous sights and strange. Relentless first
And greedy of the fight, its guardian sat
Brooding o'er countless heaps of the heathen gold.

Not cheaply to be won were entrance there.
High on the headland sat the royal Goth
Generous and still undaunted, whilst he bad
The loved companions of his home farewell.
Sorrow was on their souls, for he was near,
Vengeful, and thirsting for the blood of man,
That with no friendly greeting should salute
Their aged lord, disparting life from limb.
Then spoke the son of Ecgtheow. "Many and dread
The battle-fray, and well remember'd all,
Beowulf encounter'd in his day of youth.
Scarce had I told seven winters, when my liege,
Auspicious, call'd me from a parent's care.
So Hrethel had and held me for his own,
And gave me food and fee. He kept his pledge;
Nor was there aught in which he deem'd me less
Than his own royal offspring, Heribald,
And Hæthcyn, and my loved lord Higelac."

The narrative old monarch proceeds to state that, of these three sons of Hrethel, the eldest, Heribald, was accidentally killed in a fray by the hand of his own brother Hæthcyn. He adds some moral reflections on the crime of murder, and the unhappy state of the parent whose child, by incurring such guilt, has subjected himself to the extreme severity of the law. These reflections extend to the beginning of

CANTO XXXV.

In which Beowulf resumes his narration. Hrethel, he informs his audience, wanted either the power or the will to avenge the murder of Heribald upon one equally near to him in blood and love. The grief excited by these misfortunes soon terminated his life. After his death a war arose between his subjects on the one

side, and the Sueones and Frisii (if I understand the poet aright) on the other; in the course of which Ongentheow, king of the Sueones, and his son Othere, made repeated predatory inroads into the territory of the Scylfings. In this war Hæthcyn fell, and Beowulf first signalized himself as the champion of his country. He now concludes with repeating at some length his resolution to deliver his people from the incursions of the dragon or to die in the attempt, and forbidding his nobles to join in the combat.

All dauntless then, and stern beneath his shield,
The hero rose, and toward the rocky cliff
Bore gallantly in helm and mail of proof.
In one man's strength (not such the coward's art)
Confiding. Now that fabric might he spy,
He that so oft had in the crash of arms
Done goodly service.
Firm rose the stone-wrought vault, a living stream
Burst from the barrow, red with ceaseless flame
That torrent glow'd; nor liv'd there soul of man
Might tempt the dread abyss, nor feel its rage.
So watch'd the Fire-drake o'er his hoard—and now
Deep from his labouring breast the indignant Goth
Gave utterance to the war-cry. Loud and clear
Beneath the hoar stone rung the deafening sound,
And strife uprose:—the watcher of the gold
Had mark'd the voice of man. First from his lair
Shaking firm earth, and vomiting as he strode
A foul and fiery blast, the monster came.
Yet stood beneath the barrow's lofty side
The Goths' unshaken champion, and opposed
To that infuriate foe his full orb'd shield.
Then the good war-king bared his trenchant blade,
Tried was its edge of old, the stranger's dread
And keen to work the foul aggressor's woe.

After some struggles,

The kingly Goth
Rear'd high his hand, and smote the grisly foe.
But the dark steel upon the unyielding mail
Fell impotent, nor serv'd its master's need
Now at his utmost peril. Nor less that stroke
To madd'ning mood the barrow's warder rous'd.
Out burst the flame of strife, the blaze of war
Beam'd horribly; still no triumph won the Goth,
Still fail'd his keen brand in the unequal fray,
(So wonted not that tried and trusty steel.)
Now fain would Ecgtheow's gallant son retreat,
And change that battle-plain for tower and town.

Again they met—again with freshen'd strength
Forth from his breast the unconquer'd monster pour'd
That pestilent breath. Encompass'd by its flame,
Sad jeopardy and new the chieftain held.

His attendants foreseeing and dreading the unpropitious issue of such a contest, had partly betaken themselves to flight, and partly remained irresolute and inactive spectators of their monarch's danger.

CANTO XXXVI.

In this conjuncture we are introduced to an entirely new character, Wiglaf, the son of Weostan or Wihtstan, of the race of the Scylfings and of Elfhere.

He saw his lord,
Beneath the battle-helm, sore prest and faint.
Then thought he on the honours that he held
By Beowulf's kingly gift, he and his sire,

The rich domain, and feud, and ample right?
Long unconcern'd he stood not, but did on
His glittering shield, and girt his ancient sword,
That blade the son of Othere bare of old.

Never yet
For his liege lord that gallant youth had dared
The fray of arms, but his soul melted not,
Nor fail'd his might in battle.

Before, however, he proceeds to the attack, he addresses to his fearful companions (somewhat, it should seem, inopportunely) "many a word and true."

"Well I remember (cried the indignant youth)
When in his bower we quaff'd the generous mead
And shared his bounty, chain, and ring of gold,
What word we pledg'd to him our bounteous lord:
Vow'd we not that, if danger should betide,
Our arms should work our quittance?"

After saying much to the same purpose, and declaring his own readiness to sacrifice his life for his sovereign,

He donn'd
The warrior helm, and thro' the deadly steam
Press'd to his master's aid and shortly spoke.
"Now, much loved lord, think of thine early youth,
How thou didst pledge thyself, while life was thine,
To work the doom of justice. Now great Beowulf,
Now fearless chief, thy faithful thane is nigh."

The accession of so formidable an opponent, naturally provoked a yet fiercer attack on the part of the dragon. The contest which followed is but obscurely and confusedly described, the poet evidently wanting the power, or perhaps rather the means, of convey-

ing a clear and intelligible picture of a struggle in which three several combatants were engaged at once. We learn, however, that after both this and the succeeding onset, the event was still doubtful.

CANTO XXXVII.

Having gained both confidence and breathing time from the exertions of his youthful ally,

> Once more the Goth,
> Recall'd to sense and power, drew quickly forth
> The shrewd and biting blade, untried as yet,
> That o'er his corslet hung—the Sea-Danes' seax.
>
> The glorious Goth struck lustily :—he hath smote
> Full on the breast, and pierc'd his loathsome foe;
> And work'd the vengeance of his kingly heart.

Thus the heroes were left victorious; but to the elder this triumph was destined speedily to prove fatal. The wound inflicted by the dragon began, from the moment it was received, to burn and swell; and it was now evident that the poison had reached the vitals of Beowulf. His faithful champion, seating him on a wall from whence he could admire the size and solidity of the dragon's earthy mansion, administers copious draughts of water, and inquires as to his health and feelings. Beowulf answers under the conviction that his earthly labours have reached their termination. After expressing a wish to bequeath to Wiglaf, as to his son, the royal armour in which he was clad, he proceeds:

> "I have held
> Full fifty years this people for mine own,
> Nor lives there king or chieftain who has dared
> In warlike guise to trespass on our bounds,

Or bid us to the battle. I have run
My destin'd course, and well and uprightly
Maintain'd mine own; with no man have I sought
Unjust or fraudful strife; to no man sworn
Unrighteous oath. Wounded and sick at heart
Still have I joy in this, whene'er his power
Part life and limb, the great Creator's doom
Of guile or bloodshed holds me still assoiled."

He now commissions Wiglaf to lose no time in exploring the den of their fallen antagonist, and making a full report of its contents.

CANTO XXXVIII.

Then heard I that the son of Wihstan bore
(So bad the fainting king, his wounded lord)
Armour and arms beneath that vaulted cave.
Within its deep recess the gallant thane
Victorious now, saw freely as he pass'd,
Heap'd by each wall, fair ring and treasur'd store,
And gold that strew'd in glist'ning heaps the ground.
And cups and bowls, of the olden time and men
Sole monuments. There, reft of its crested pride,
Lay many an helm, all canker'd now with age;
And many an armlet work'd with artist skill.
Soon might he ken, high o'er that ancient hoard,
Strange forms all rich with gold; no common craft
Of handy-work had traced each wond'rous shape,
Or charm'd it to its station. There they stood
Fast lock'd, and beaming all with ceaseless light.
So might he well descry throughout that realm,
The spoil and triumph of his lord's revenge.'

Having laden himself with as much of these treasures as he could

carry, he returns and finds his master dying. The application of water somewhat revives him, and the words once more "broke from the treasury of his breast."

"Old am I now, but in my youth have won
And shar'd the treasured gold. Now, thanks be thine
Eternal Father, glorious Lord of all!
Thanks from thy creature's lips, for that his eye
Hath seen these hoarded spoils; for that his hand,
Ere yet thy doom o'ertake him, hath atchieved
To his lov'd people's weal this rich bequest.
And now,
Short while I tarry here—when I am gone,
Bid them upon yon headland's summit rear
A lofty mound, by Rona's sea-girt cliff;
So shall my people hold to after times
Their chieftain's memory, and the mariners
That drive afar to sea, oft as they pass,
Shall point to Beowulf's tomb." He spoke, and drew
From his reverend neck, and to that generous youth
Bequeath'd, the golden collar of his state,
And gorgeous helm, and ring, and corslet bright
Added—not reckless whom he named his heir.
And bad him bear them well and prosp'rously;
"For thou alone art left of all our kin.
The voice of Heav'n to their eternal doom,
Save thee, hath summon'd all the Scylding's race;
And, lo! I join my fathers."

Such were the dying reflections and commands of the aged Beowulf.

CANTO XXXIX.

Wiglaf was now left to sorrow over the remains of one whom he loved and reverenced beyond all earthly friends. His first care, however, was to preclude all possibility of the dragon's revival, by separating the head from his body. The poet, after dilating somewhat tediously on the loss of Beowulf, and the benefits accruing to the Danish community from the destruction of their venomous oppressor, turns to the unworthy followers who had (as has been stated) fled from the first prospect of their monarch's defeat and danger. These had betaken themselves to the covert of a neighbouring forest, whence they now at length ventured to issue, ten in a body. With shame in their countenances they approached the spot where their more honourable companion sat weeping over the body of him, for the preservation of whose life he had in vain exposed his own. Wiglaf receives them with a sorrowful and angry countenance, and at length gives vent to his feelings in a string of bitter and well merited reproaches, intermingled with expressions of regret for the tardiness and failure of his own efforts in his master's behalf, and (if I understand the passage rightly) with some threats of disgrace or punishment from the assembly of the people. (Londrihtes-mot.)

CANTO XL.

Then Wiglaf bade them o'er the high cliff bear
That wond'rous tale and sad, to where in arms
Assembled earl and chief that livelong day,
Not without care and deep suspense, had sate
Expectant still of their lov'd lord's return.
But now the warder of the headland tower
No longer might keep silence :—clear he spoke,
That all might learn :—"The monarch of the Goth,

The pride and liege lord of our eastern folk,
Lies low on earth, and sleeps the sleep of death.
Slain by the Fire-drake's vengeance;—at his side
Sleeps too that foul destroyer, mute and quell'd
By Beowulf's native seax; for on that hard
And scale-clad frame, the sword-blade fell in vain.
O'er his dead lord the champion Wiglaf sits,
Wihstan's illustrious heir."

From this introduction, the warden or herald is made to digress into a narrative of nearly 200 lines, relating chiefly to the previous fortunes of the Scylding race and its sovereigns. This, like most other episodes of the same nature (more than one of which has been already noticed), is extremely obscure, and extends to the middle of

CANTO XLI.

Here the warden having finished his long and apparently ill-timed digression by expressing a dread lest the Sueones should seize this opportunity of wreaking an ancient feud on the east Danes, returns to the immediate object of his communication.

"Best were it now that, with what speed we may,
We seek, and bear our slaughter'd monarch home.
Long since by proud gifts of the wreathed gold
He pledged us to his service; now he leaves
To his lov'd people's need, uncounted hoards,
The vanquish'd monster's spoil.
Soon shall the bickering flame play round his limbs,
Nor earl, at that sad time, in warlike gear,
Nor high-born maid in golden sheen may stand,
The wreathing chain gracing her lovely neck.
All, e'en the stranger guest, shall walk in grief.

For he that led your power and ruled your state
No more to laughter lives or mortal joy.

No harp shall wake to mirth our warrior train,
But the wan raven hasting to his meal
Scream oft and loud; and the shrill eaglet tell,
How with his fellow wolf, full gorg'd of blood,
He sped him at the death-feast."

This oration (for the truth of which the bard pledges himself) being finished, the train of nobles repair to the fatal spot, where they discover (under Arnanæs) the remains of their brave sovereign and of the now harmless Fire-drake. The latter were found to extend

Long as he lay
Full fifty measured feet.

They next admired the "vessels, cups, dishes," and ancient weapons which had furnished the treasury of this wondrous animal. These (adds the poet) had thus remained in the bosom of the earth for a thousand winters, secured by the force of strong enchantments from all human depredation, until the power whose hands alone dispense victory and riches, saw fit to open for man the long concealed possessions of the dead.

CANTO XLII.

In examining more closely the domain of their ancient enemy, the nobles discovered the remains of those who had in former times ventured to trace the same unhappy road as their monarch, and had fallen an easy sacrifice to the enraged monster. They named a pool or lake near the spot where Beowulf had fallen, the King's Mere. Wiglaf now addresses himself to the assembly. He begins by regretting that the faithful thanes of Beowulf had not, in the first in-

stance, attempted to dissuade him from so hazardous an enterprize. He then expatiates on the riches of the dragon's treasury, and assures them that their monarch had lived to behold and to rejoice in the quantity and magnificence of the spoils. He finishes by advising that after having surveyed and taken measures for securing so precious an acquisition, they should prepare for the obsequies of Beowulf a barrow, of extent and height proportionable to his rank and merits. Having dispatched some of the party to obtain *from afar* the wood necessary for the funeral pile, he commissions eight thanes, accompanied by soldiers bearing torches, to enter the den and bring out, together with the valuables yet unremoved, the human reliques mentioned in the beginning of the Canto.

CANTO XLIII, and last,

Much of which is unfortunately obliterated, commences thus:—

Then work'd the Gothic folk that earth-rais'd tomb
Unwearied. High they hung the kingly helm
And corslet bright, and blade of warrior steel:
So had himself besought them:—in the midst
The sorrowing chieftains placed their long-lov'd lord.
Then on the barrow's steep they bad aspire
The funeral flame. High roll'd the wreathed smoke,
The winds of heav'n were hush'd till the keen fire
Had burst the bony tenement of the breast.
Then sad at heart they mourn'd their master's fate,
In joyless strains, e'en as a woman mourns.
* * * * * * * * *
Then rear'd his people near the ocean flood
An ample tower, conspicuous from afar
To the sea-ranger. High it stood, and broad;
Nor ceas'd for ten days space (so bad their chief)
The beacon's fire; ten days the well fed flame
Rose by that wall.

They then cast into the tomb a part of the golden ornaments which they had removed from the treasury of the dragon, "which remain still in the earth (adds the poet, if I understand him rightly) as useless as they were in the custody of their former guardian." This done, they naturally occupied themselves for some time in recounting the many valiant and generous actions which had signalized the long and useful life of their monarch.

So mourn'd the Dane, so they who wont to share
Counsel and converse with their aged lord.
And fondly told, how of all earthly kings
Mildest in bearing, boldest in the fray,
He sought and won the meed of deathless fame.

I have thus attempted (and it has indeed been a task of much greater difficulty than might at first be imagined) to present a faithful analysis of this singular and interesting poem. It is not, perhaps, too much to add, that as a specimen of language and composition, as a picture of manners and opinions, and in some measure even as an historical document, it possesses claims upon the notice of the scholar and the antiquary far beyond those which can be advanced by any other relique, hitherto discovered, of the same age and description. Such remarks as appeared calculated to explain or illustrate particular passages being subjoined in the form of notes, I have but a few observations to offer on the character of the whole.

It can hardly have escaped notice that the Scandinavian bard, in the general style and complexion of his poetry, approaches much more nearly to the father of the Grecian epic, than to the romancers of the middle ages. If I mistake not, this similarity will readily be traced in the simplicity of his plan, in the air of probability given to all its details, even where the subject may be termed

supernatural; in the length and tone of the speeches introduced, and in their frequent digression to matters of contemporary or previous history.

It may be observed too that the Song of Beowulf, especially in its latter Cantos, affords an additional argument, if any such were wanting after the labours of Percy and Ellis, against the theory which would attribute to the fictions of romance a Saracenic origin. The dragon furnished with wings and breathing flame, the sword which melts at the touch of the Jutish blood, the unearthly light which pervades the cave of the Grendel, and beams from the magic statues presiding over that of the Fire-drake, had they occurred in a poem of later date, would in all probability have been considered by the eminent author of that theory as undoubted importations of the crusaders. But the opinions of Warton, even when erroneous, were not taken up without apparent grounds. The fictions in question do assuredly bear, if it may be so termed, an oriental rather than a northern aspect; and the solution of this phenomenon will be most successfully sought for in the hypothesis more recently suggested by those continental scholars, who, regarding the Gothic and the Sanscrit as cognate dialects, and identifying the character and worship of Odin with that of Buddha, claim for the whole of the Scandinavian mythology, an Asiatic origin of far more remote and mysterious antiquity.

It may perhaps be thought scarcely worth while to offer any opinion on the poetical merits of our author. In some it may even excite a smile to hear a production so little resembling the purer models of classical antiquity dignified by the name of poetry, or considered as an object of criticism. We are all, I am fully conscious, liable not unfrequently to be misled by a natural prepossession in favour of that upon which we have employed any considerable portion of our time and labour. From this prepossession I do not pretend to be exempt; but I still apprehend that he who makes due allowance for the barbarisms and obscurity of the language (an obscurity much increased by our still imperfect knowledge of its

poetical construction and vocabulary) and for the shackles of a metrical system at once of extreme difficulty, and, to our ears at least, totally destitute of harmony and expression, will find that Beowulf presents many of those which have in all ages been admitted as the genuine elements of poetic composition.

The plan (as it has been already stated) is sufficiently simple. The characters, as far as they are developed, are well sustained, and their speeches usually natural and well appropriated. The narrative is by no means so encumbered with repetitions as that of the reputed Cædmon; nor is the style so ambitious and inflated. Over the almost unintelligible rhapsodies of the Edda (for these are the fairest points of comparison) it possesses a decided superiority; nor are there many among the metrical romances of the more polished Normans, with which it may not fairly abide a competition.

If we except perhaps the frequency and length of the digressions, the only considerable offence against the received canons of the heroic muse is to be found in the extraordinary interval of time which elapses between the first and last exploits of the hero.

After all, it is as an antiquarian document that Beowulf has the most indisputable claim upon our attention; a claim so powerful, that I cannot close this imperfect abstract without expressing a wish that some one competent to the task may be induced to republish the whole in such a manner as to render it fully accessible to the general reader.

ORIGINAL TEXT

OF THE PASSAGES QUOTED IN THE FOREGOING ABSTRACT

OF BEOWULF,

WITH A LITERAL TRANSLATION INTO LATIN.

Page 35, line 1.

Hwæt we[1] Gar-Dena	*Aliquid nos* de *Bellicorum Dano-*
In ȝear-dagum	*In diebus antiquis* [*rum*
Ðeod cyninga[2]	*Popularium regum*
Ðrym ȝefrunon,	*Gloriâ accepimus,*
Hu ða Æðelingas	*Quomodo tunc principes*
Ellen fremodon.	*Virtute valuerint.*

CANTO I. [p. 36, l. 3.]

Ðæt heal-reced	*Iste domum aulicam*
Hatan wolde,	*Jubere voluit,*
Medo ærn micel,	*Hydromelis aulam magnam,*
Men ȝewyrcean,	*Homines ædificare,*
Ðone yldo bearn	*Quam priores*
Æfre ȝefrunon;	*Semper celebrarunt;*
And ðær on innan	*Et ibi intus*

[1] Hwæt we. There is a little abruptness, if not obscurity, in this sentence; the same use of 'Hwæt' will be found in Canto 24, l. 3. It somewhat resembles the H οιη of Hesiod. (Ασπις Ηρακ.)

[2] Ðeod cyninga. These are the 'Ðod kongr' of the northern historians. The small independent monarchs who originally possessed the peninsula of Jutland. (See *Stephanius*, 103.)

Eall ȝedælan	*Omnia distribuere*
Geonȝum and ealdum,	*Junioribus ac senioribus,*
Swylce him God sealde,	*Tanquam ipsi Deus concesserat,*
Buton folc-scare	*Præter populi turbam*
And feorum ȝumena.	*Et pravos (v. peregrinos) homines.*
Tha ic wide ȝefrægn	*Hoc latè intellexi*
Weorc ȝebannan	*Opus celebrari*
Manigre mægðe	*In multis regionibus*
Geond ðisne middan-ȝeard.	*Per hunc medium-orbem.*
Folcstede frætwan	*Domicilium adornare*
Him on fyrste ȝelomp	*Ei primum obtigit*
Ædre mid yldum	*Facile inter homines*
Thæt hit wearð ealȝearo	*Ita ut esset omnino perfecta*
Heal-ærna mæst.	*Aularum maxima.*
Scop him Heort[1] naman	*Finxit ei "Hertha" nomen*
Se the his wordes ȝeweald	*Qui jubendi potestatem*
Wide hæfde.	*Latè habuit.*
He beotne[2] alch,	(Ibi) *invitatos collocavit,*
Beaȝas dælde,	*Annulos distribuit,*
Sinc æt symle.	*Aurum in symposio.*
Sele hlifade.	*Aula resonabat.*

[p. 36, l. 17.]

Ða se ellen ȝæst	*Id potens spiritus*
Earfoðlice	*Ægrè*
Ðraȝe ȝeðolode,	*Diu sustinuerat,*
Se ðe in ðystrum bad,	*Is qui in tenebris degebat,*

[1] Heort. Thorkelin's translation of this name seems to be the most plausible. It is also spelt 'Heorot' and 'Heorute,' and might be translated *Cor, quasi "deliciæ."* It will be seen that while in the metrical translations 'Hertha' is used, the original 'Heort' is retained in the prose abstract.

[2] I have considered 'beotne' (with Thorkelin) as irregularly formed from 'biddan.' If 'aleh' be formed, as I apprehend, from 'aliȝan,' *collocavit* will be a closer translation than Thorkelin's *excepit.*

Đæt he dogora gehwam	*Quod die quâvis*
Dream gehyrde	*Gaudium audiret*
Hludne in healle.	*Sonorum in aulâ.*
Đær wæs hearpan swegˌ	*Ibi erat citharæ vox,*
Swutol sang scopes.	*Suavis cantus Poetæ.*
Sægde se đe cuđe	*Dixit is qui novit*
Frumsceaft fira	*Originem hominum*
Feorran reccan.	*E longinquo narrare.*
Cwæđ đæt se Almihtiga	*Cecinit ut Omnipotens*
Eorđan [1] we . . . [1]	*Terram (creaverit?).*
Wlite beorhtne wang	*Lucidè splendentem campum*
Swa wæter bebugeđ.	*Quacunque aqua circumfluit.*
Gesette sige-hređig	*Posuit gloriâ valens*
Sunnan and monan,	*Solem ac lunam,*
Leoman to leohte	*Radiis lucem dare*
Landbuendum;	*Terricolis;*
And gefrætwade	*Et exornavit*
Foldan sceatas	*Terræ regiones*
Leomum and leafum;	*Arboribus ac foliis;*
Lif eac gesceop	*Vitam porro indidit*
Cynna gehwylcum	*Generi cuilibet* [*tur.*
Đara đe cwice hwyrfađ.	*Eorum qui vivi* (in terrâ) *versan-*
Swa đa driht-guman	*Ita nobiles*
Dreamum lyfdon	*In gaudiis degebant*
Eađigliceˌ	*Beatè,*
Ođ đæt an ongan	*Donec unus incepit*
Fyrene fremman	*Scelera patrare*
Feond on helle;	*Inimicus ex inferis;*
Wæs se grimma gæst	*Erat teter spiritus*
Grendel [2] haten,	*Grendel nominatus,*
Mære mearc-stapa,	*Magnus limitum accola*

[1] 'we.' Probably 'weorhte' or 'worhte.'

[2] Grendel is a name applied by Cædmon to Satan.

Se ðe moras heold	*Qui deserta tenuit*
Fen and fasten	*Paludes et recessus*
Fifel cynnes [1].	*Populi quinque urbes habitantis.*

III. [p. 38.]

Swa ða mæl ceare	*Sic tunc cura anxia*
Maga Healfdenes	*Filium Halfdeni*
Singala seaðo.	*Continuo coquebat.*
Ne mihte snotor hæleth	*Nihil valuit prudens heros*
Wean onwendan.	*Calamitatem avertere.*
Wæs that ȝewin to swyð	*Erat bellum istud nimis durum*
Lað and longsum,	*Exitiale ac longum,*
The on ða leode becom,	*Quod populo supervenit,*
Nyd-wracu niðgrim,	*Violentia terribilis,*
Niht-bealwa mæst.	*Nocturnorum malorum maximum.*
Thæt fram ham ȝefrægn	*Hoc domi rescivit*
Higelaces ðegn	*Higelaci satrapa*
God mid Geatum	*Fortis inter Gothos*
Grendles dæda.	*Grendelis acta.*
Se wæs moncynnes	*Is erat ex humano genere*
Mægenes strenȝest	*Robore præstantissimus*
On ðæm dæȝe	*Illo tempore*
Thysses lifes,	*Hujus vitæ,*
Æthele and eacen.	*Nobilis et* (honore) *auctus.*
Het him yð lidan	*Jussit sibi fluctûs navigatorem,*
Godne ȝeȝyrwan.	*Præstantem instrui.* [(navem)
Cweth he ȝuð-cyninȝ	*Dixit se belli arbitrum*

[1] Fifel cynnes. The five petty kingdoms of Denmark seem to be designated by this name. It might have been remarked above in the Song of the Traveller, p. 14. l. 85, that 'Fifel dore' probably meant the Danish frontier. 'Fifel stream,' (*Boetius*, p. 188. col. 2. l. 33.) which Lye leaves uninterpreted, may mean the Danish sea. Alfred (if I understand the passage rightly) says that no fleet which ever navigated that "*stream*," was equal in number to the Grecian armament against Troy.

Ofer swan rade	*Trans cygni viam* (mare)
Secean wolde	*Quærere velle*
Mærne ðeoden	*Illustrem regem,* (Hrodgarum,)
Tha him wæs manna ðearf.	*Ubi ei esset hominum opus.*
Thone siðfæt him	*Istud navigium ei*
Snotere ceorlas	*Prudentes asseclæ*
Lyt hwon lozon	*Cito instruxerunt,*
Ðeah ðe him leof wære.	*Quum iis carus esset.*
Hwetton hige forne,	*Exacuebant animos,*
Hæl sceawedon.	*Omen captabant.*
Hæfde se ɣoda	*Habuit* (secum) *bonus ille*
Geata leoda	*E Gothicâ stirpe*
Cempan ɣecorene,	*Heroas selectos,*
Ðara ðe he cenoste	*Ex iis quos acerrimos*
Findan mihte,	*Invenire posset,*
Fiftena sum.	*Quindecim aliquos.* [*bant.*
Sund-wudu sohte.	*Maritimum lignum* (navem) *pete-*
Secz wisade	*Rector monstrabat*
Lazu-cræftiz mon	*Pelagi gnarus vir*
Land ɣemyrcu.	*Terræ limites* (*v.* signa).
Fyrst forð ɣewat,	*Princeps egressus est,*
Flota wæs on ydum,	*Cymba erat in undis,*
Bat under beorɣe.	*Navigium sub rupibus.*
Beornas ɣearwe	*Comites prompti*
On stefn[1] stiɣon;	*In proram ascendebant;*
Streamas wundon	*Aquam sulcabant*
Sund wiðsande.	*Mare juxta littus.*
Secɣas bæron	*Duces ferebant*
On bearm nacan	*In sinum* (navis) *vacuum*
Beorhte frætwe,	*Lucida gestamina,*
Guð-searo ɣeatolic	*Arma bellica*

[1] or *ad mandatum*—but shortly after 'wunden stefna' is evidently used for the curved prow.

Guman utscufon	*Homines deducebant*
Weras on wilsiþ.	*Viri in iter sponte susceptum.*
Wudu bundenne	*Lignum tortum*
Gewat þa ofer wæʒholm	*Discessit tunc super mare*
Winde ʒefysed,	*Vento propulsa,*
Flota famiʒ heals	*Navis prorâ spumante*
Fugle ʒelicost;	*Avi simillima;*
Oð þæt ymb an tid	*Donec intra spatium*
Oðres dogores	*Diei secundæ*
Wunden stefna	*Torta prora*
Gewaden hæfde	(lta) *navigârat*
Ðæt ða liðende	*Ut eúntes*
Land ʒesawon,	*Terram viderent,*
Brim-clifu blican,	*Maritimos clivos coruscare,*
Beorʒas steape,	*Montes arduos,*
Side sæ-næssas.	*Magna promontoria.*
Ða wæs sund liden	*Tunc erat mare superatum*
[1] Eoletes æt ende.	..... *ad finem.*
Ðanon up hraðe	*Tunc alacriter*
Wedera leode	*Æolica gens*
On wanʒ stiʒon,	*In terram ascendebat,*
Sæ-wudu sældon,	*Navem adligabant,*
Syrcan hrysedon,	*Loricas quatiebant,*
Guð-ʒewædu.	*Vestes bellicas.*
Gode ðancedon	*Deo gratias agebant*
Ðæs ðe him yð-lade	*Quod hæc eis via*
Eaðe wurdon.	*Prospera obtigisset.*
Tha of wealle ʒeseah	*Tunc* (eos) *a muro adspexit*
Weard Scyldinga,	*Custos Scyldingi,*

[1] Eoletes. This word does not occur in Lye. 'Ea' is water, and 'ealete' may possibly have meant (as Thorkelin renders it) *itineris*, or rather *navigationis*.

Se the holm-clifu
Healdan scolde,
Beran ofer bolcan
Beorhte randas
Fyrd-searo fuslicu.
Hine fyrwyt bræc
Mod gehygdum
Hwæt tha men wæron.
Gewat him ða to waroðe
Wicge ridan
Ðegn Hrodgares,
Ðrymmum cwehte
Mægen-wudu mundum;
Meðel wordum frægn:
" Hwæt syndon ge
Searo hæbbendra,
Byrnum werde,
Ðe ðus brotne ceol
Ofer lagu stræte
Lædan cwomon
Hiðer ofer holmas?
Ic thæs ende-sæta
Ægwearde heold
Ðæt on land Dena
Laðra nænig
Mid scip herge
Sceððan ne meahte.

* * * *

Næfre ic maran geseah
Eorla ofer eorðan
Ðonne is eower sum,
Secgon searwum.
Nis ðæt seld guma,
Wæpnum geweorðad,

Is qui clivos littorales
Teneret,
Gestare super terram
Lucidos clypeos
Exercitum instructum alacrem.
Illum cura distrahebat
Animo sollicito
Quinam homines essent.
Accinxit se ad exercitum
Per viam equitare
Minister Hrodgari,
Ante turmam concussit
Potentiæ lignum manibus;
Facundis verbis locutus est:
" *Quinam estis*
Arma gerentes,
Loricis induti,
Qui ita appulsam navim
Super undarum æquor
Adduxistis
Huc super fluctus?
Ego hosce limites
Littoris custos teneo
Ut in terram Dani
Hostile nihil
Navali impetu
Irrumpere possit.

* * * *

Nunquam ego majorem vidi
Ducem super terram
Quam est vester, quicunque sit,
Militari specie.
Non rarò est ille vir
Armis circumdatus,

Næfre him his wlite leoȝe[1]	*Nunquam ejus pulcra potest fal-*
Ænlic ansyn.	*Eximia facies.* [*lere*
Nu ic eower sceal	*Nunc ego vestram cupio*
Frumcyn witan,	*Originem noscere,*
Ær ȝe fyr heonan	*Antequam procul hinc*
Leas scea-weras	*Sinam speculatores*
On land Dena	*In terram Danicam*
Furður feran.	*Ulterius progredi.*
Nu ȝe feor-buend	*Nunc vos peregrini*
Mere lidende	*Maris viatores*
Mine ȝehyraþ	*Meam audite*
Anfealdne ȝeþoht.	*Simplicem sententiam.*
Ofost is selest	*Celerrimum est potissimum*
To ȝecyðanne	*Notum facere*
Hwanan eowre	*Undenam vos*
Cyme syndon."	(Huc) *venistis.*"

IV. [p. 40.]

Him ce yldesta	*Illi senior*
Answarode,	*Respondebat,*
Werodes wisa	*Exercitus dux*
Word hord onleac.	*Orationis thesaurum reserabat.*
" We synt ȝumcynnes	" *Nos sumus ortu*
Geata leode,	*Gothica gens,*
And Higelaces	*Et Higelaci*
Heorð ȝeneatas.	*Familiares ministri.*
Wæs myn fæder	*Erat pater meus*
Folcum ȝecyðed,	*Viris cognitus,*
Æthele ordfruma,	*Nobilis gentis auctor,*
Ecȝðeow haten.	*Egtheow nominatus.*
Gebad wintra worn	*Vixit hiemes multos*
Ær he on weȝ hwurfe	*Antequam discederet*
Gamol of ȝeardum.	*Senex e terrâ.*

[1] Literally " his good looks cannot belie him."

Hine ȝearwe ȝeman	*Eum facile recordabitur*
Witena wel hwylc	*Sapientûm quivis*
Wide ȝeond eorðan.	*Latè per terram.*
We ðurh holdne hiȝe	*Nos fido animo*
Hlaford ðinne	*Dominum tuum*
Sunu Healfdenes	*Filium Healfdeni*
Secean cwomon,	*Quæsitum venimus,*
Leod ȝebyrȝean.	*Populum defensuri.*
Wes ðu us lare na ȝod.	*Fuisti nobis conjecturâ vix æquus.*
Habbaþ we to thæm mæran	*Habemus nos cum principe* (tuo)
Micel ærende	*Magnum negotium*
Deniȝa frean.	(Cum) *Danorum rege.*
Ne sceal ðær dyrne sum wesan,	*Non ibi occultum aliquid erit,*
Ðæs ic wene ðu wast	*Quoniam suspicor te scire*
Gif hit is swa we soðlice	*Si ita sit tanquam nos sanè*
Secȝan hyrdon,	*Narrari audivimus,*
Ðæt mid Scyldingum	*Quod contra Scyldingos*
Sceaðo ic nat hwylc	*Inimicus nescio quis*
Deogol dæd-hata	*Occulta odia*
Deorcum nihtum	*Tenebrosis noctibus*
Eaweð ðurh eȝsan	*Exercet per terrorem*
Uncuðne nið	*Insolitam violentiam*
Hynðu and hrafyl.	*Vim ac rapinam.*
Ic ðæs Hroðgar mæȝ	*Ego hìc Hrodgaro possum*
Ðurh rumne sefan	*Per animi cogitationes*
Ræd ȝelæran	*Consilium docere*
Hu he frod[1] . . . ȝod	*Quomodo is sapiens . . prudens*
Feond ofer-swydeth,	*Inimicum superet,*
Gyf him edwendan	*Si revertatur*
Æfre scolde.	*Unquam.*
Bealuwa bisiȝu	*Injuriam necesse est*
Bot eft cuman.	*Ultio consequatur.*

[1] . . . probably 'and' is erased.

And ðа cear wylmas	*Et tunc curæ æstus*
Colran wurðað.	*Lenior fiet.*
Oððe[1] asyððan	*Ex quo*
Earfoð ðrage	*Durâ sorte*
Ðrea nyð ðolað,	*Pœnam nequitia solvit,*
Ðenden ðær wunað	*Dum maneat*
On heah stede	*In alto situ*
Husa selest:"	*Aularum felicissima."*
Weard maðelode	*Custos locutus est*
Ðær on wicge sæt	*Qui in viâ sedebat*
Ombeht unforht.	*Minister impavidus.*
[2] Æg hwæðres sceal	*Quaquaversus debet*
Scearp scyldwiga	*Acer bellator*
Gescad witan	*Prudenter explorare*
Worda and worca	*Verba et actiones*
Se ðe wel ðenceð.	*Qui bene* (rem) *perpendit.*
" Ic ðæt gehyre	" *Ego id audio*
Ðæt ðis is hold weorod	*Quod hic est amica cohors*
Frean Scyldinga.	*Regi Scyldingo.*
Gewitað forð beran	*Progressi efferte*
Wæpen and gewædu.	*Arma et apparatum* (bellicum).
Ic eow wisige,	*Ego vos moneo,*
Swilc ic magu-ðegnas	*Tanquam concives*
Mine hate,	*Meos jubeo,*
Wið feonda gehwone	*Contra inimicum quemvis*
Flotan eowerne	*Navem vestram*
Niw tyrwydne	*Nuper pice obductam*

[1] Here and elsewhere the usage of adverbs and particles is not very intelligible, perhaps not always accurate. In these cases I have endeavoured to give as nearly as I could what I apprehend to be the general sense of the original.

[2] I know not whether this and the next four lines are to be regarded as the sententious observation of the author, or as the commencement of the warder's speech

Nacan on sande	*Vacuam ad littus*
Arum healdan,	*Remis appellere, (v. in tuto collo-*
Oð ðæt eft byreð	*Donec rursus ferat* [*care*)
Ofer lagu streamas	*Super pelagi undas*
Leofne mannan,	*Caros homines,*
Wudu wunden-hals	*Lignum torti colli*
To weder mearce.	*Ad limites Æolicos.*

V. [p. 41, l. 11.]

Stræt wæs stan-fah,	*Semita erat lapidibus constrata,*
Stig wisode	*Via indicata*
Gumum æt gædere.	*Viris simul* (euntibus).
Guð byrne scan,	*Belli lorica fulsit*
Heard, hand locen;	*Dura, manu conficta;*
Hring iren scir	*Annulus ferri splendidus*
Song in searwum,	*Sonuit in armis;*
Ða he to sele furðum	*Dum ad aulam propius*
In hyra gryre geatwum	*In bellicis ornamentis*
Gangan cwomon.	*Eundo accedebant.*
Setton sæmethe	*Posuere unà*
Side scyldas,	*Latos clypeos,*
Rondas regn-hearde,	*Scuta pluviâ* (telorum) *dura,*
Wið ðæs recedes weal:	*Ad aulæ parietem:*
Bugon ða to bence,	*Incurvabant se ad sedilia,*
Byrnan hringdon	*Loricas concusserunt*
Guð-searo gumena,	*Bellica hominum ornamenta,*
Garas stodon	*Tela stabant*
Sæmanna searo	*Nautarum géstaminâ*
Samod æt gæðere,	*Unà collecta,*
Æsc-holt ufan græg	*Fraxinum super glaucam*
Wæs se iren ðreat	(*Imposita*) *erat chalybis nixa*
Wæpnum gewurðad[1].	*In telis conspicua.*

[1] Wæs, &c. or *erat chalybea acies in telis fabricata.*

Ða ðær wlonc hæleð	*Ibi tunc vir intrepidus*
Oret mecgas	*Heroas socios*
Æfter hæleðum frægn	*De viris* (seipsis?) *interrogavit*
" Hwanon ferigeað	" *Undenam apportastis*
Gefætte[1] scyldas,	..... *clypeos,*
Græge syrcan	*Glaucas loricas*
And grim helmas,	*Ac torvas galeas,*
Heresceafta heap?	*Telorum multitudinem?*
Ic eom Hroðgares	*Ego sum Hrothgari*
Ar and ombiht;	*Nuncius ac minister;*
Ne seah ic elðeodige	*Nunquam vidi exteros*
Ðus manige men	*Tot viros*
Modiglicran.	*Magis superbientes.*
Wen ic ðæt ge for wlenco,	*Novi vos neque ob insolentiam,*
Nalles for wræc-siðum,	*Neque ob vindictam,*
Ac for hige ðrymmum	*Sed ob gravia negotia*
Hrothgar sohton."	*Hrothgarum quærere."*
Him ða ellen-rof	*Eum tunc Heros*
Andswarode wlanc	*Excepit intrepidus*
Wedera leod;	*Æolicæ gentis;*
Word æfter spræc	*Verbum retulit*
Heard under helme.	*Fortis sub galeâ.*
" We synt Higelaces	" *Nos sumus Higelaco*
Beod geneatas.	*Fide adstricti.*
Beowulf is min nama.	*Beowulf est mihi nomen.*
Wille ic asecgan	*Volo exponere*
Sunu Healfdenes	*Filio Healfdeni*
Mærum ðeodne	*Illustri domino*
Min ærende	*Meum negotium*

[1] Gefætte. The sense of this word is obscure. 'Fetian' signifies *adducere, accire;* and 'fæt,' a vessel. It may mean *congregatos clypeos,* or *clypeos quasi ad vasis instar corpus obtegentes;* but I confess that neither of these senses appears satisfactory.

Aldre ðinum	*Regi vestro*
Gif he us geunnan wile	*Si permittere velit*
Ðæt we hine swa ȝodne	*Ut nos eum benevole*
Gretan mohton."	*Salutemus."*
Wulfȝar maðelode	*Wulfgar locutus est.*
Ðæt wæs Wendla leod.	*Qui erat e gente Vendelicâ.*
Wæs his mod-sefa	*Erat prudentia ejus*
Manezum ȝecyðed	*Multis cognita*
Wiȝ and wisdom.	*Virtus ac sapientia.*
"Ic ðæs wine Deniȝa	*" Ego igitur amicum Danorum*
Frean Scyldinȝa	*Regem Scyldingam*
Frinan wille	*Certiorem faciam*
Beaȝa bryttan,	*Annulorum largitorem,*
Swa ðu bena eart	*Quænam sit petitio tua*
Ðeoden mærne	*Regi illustri*
Ymb ðinne sið.	*De itinere tuo.*
And ðe ða andsware	*Ac tibi responsum*
Ædre ȝecyðan	*Citò referam*
Ðe me se ȝoda	*Quod mihi benevolus ille*
Aȝifan ðenceð."	*Reddere dignetur."*
Hwearf ða hrædlice	*Recepit se extemplo*
Ðær Hroðȝar sæt	*Eo quo sedebat Hrodgarus*
Eald and unhar,	*Senex et capillis destitutus,*
Mid his eorla ȝedriht.	*Cum ducum comitatu.*
Eode ellen-rof	*Ibat heros*
Ðe he for eaxlum ȝestod	*Donec ad latus staret*
Deniȝa frean.	*Danici regis.*
Cuðe he duȝuðe ðeaw.	*Novit ille fidelem ministrum.*

VI. [p. 43, l. 6.]

" Wæs ðu, Hroðȝar, hal:	*Salvus esto, Hrodgare:*
Ic eom Hiȝelaces	*Ego sum Higelaci*
Mæȝ and maȝo-ðeȝn.	*Cognatus ac satrapa.*
Habbe ic mærða fela	*Ego splendida multa*

Onȝunnen on ȝeoȝoðe.	*Aggressus sum in juventute.*
Me weard Grendles ðinȝ	*Mihi erat Grendelis injuria*
On minre eðel-tyrf	*In meâ patriâ*
Undyrne cuð.	*Palam cognita.*
Secȝað sæliðend	*Aiunt navigatores*
Þæt ðæs sele stande,	*Quod hæc aula stet,*
Receđ selesta,	*Habitatio pulcerrima,*
Rinca ȝehwylcum	*Viris quibusvis*
Idel and unnyt,	*Vacua et inutilis,*
Syððan æfen leoht	*Ex quo vespertina lux*
Under heofones hador	*Sub cœli convexo*
Beholen weorðed.	*Abscondita sit.*
Ða me ðæt ȝelærdon	*Tum me admonuerunt*
Leode mine	*Populares mei*
Ða selestan	*Inclytissimi*
Snotere ceorlas,	*Sagaces viri,*
Þeoden Hroðȝar,	*Rex Hrodgare,*
Þæt ic ðe sohte:	*Uti te quærerem:*
Forðan hie mæȝenes cræft	*Quoniam illi roboris pollentiam*
Mine cuðon;	*Meam noverant;*
Selfe ofersawon	*Ipsi viderant*
Ða ic of searwum cwom	*Quum e certamine redirem,*
Fah from feondum;	*Discolor ab inimicis;*
Þær ic fife ȝeband	*Ubi ego quinque constrinxi*
Yðde Eotene cyn	*Facilè Jutis editos*
And on yðum sloȝ:	*Et in undis occidi:*
* * * *	* * * *
And nu wið Grendel sceal	*Et nunc cum Grendele*
Wið ðam aȝlæcan	*Cum illo scelesto*
Ana ȝehegan	*Solus inibo*
Ðinȝ with Þyrse.	*Certamen cum Thyrso.*
* * * *	* * * *
Hæbbe ic eac ȝealhsod	*Audivi etiam*
Þæt se æȝlæca	*Quod infandus ille*
For his won hydum	*Pro cute squalidâ*
Wæpna ne ræcceð.	*Tela nihili facit.*

Ic ðæt ðonne forhicge,	*Eo igitur illud respuo,*
(Swa me Higelac sie	*(Ita mihi Higelacus sit*
Min mondrihten	*Dominus meus*
Modes bliðe)	*Animi propitius)*
Ðæt ic sweord bere	*Ut ensem geram*
Oððe sidne scyld	*Aut latum clypeum* [*pugnam.*
Geolo-rand to guðe.	*Flavum (splendidum) orbem in*
And ic mid grape sceal	*Atque ego manus correptione* (solâ)
Fon wið feonde,	*Agam contra hostem,*
And ymb feorh sacan	*Ac pro vitâ decertabo*
Laþ wið laðum;	*Sævus cum sævo;*
Ðær [1] gelyfan sceal	*Ibi decernet*
Dryhtnes dome	*Dei judicium*
Se ðe hine deað nimeð.	*Utrum mors abstulerit.*
* * * *	* * * *
Gif mec deað nimeð,	*Si me mors auferat,*
Byreð blodig wæl,	*Sepelito cruentatum corpus,*
Byrgean ðenceð,	*Tumulare memento,*
Eceð angenga	*Augeat viator (sc. tumulum meum)*
Unmurnlice.	*Sine lacrymis.*
Mearcað mor hopu.	*Insignite campum circulo.*
No ðu ymb mines ne ðearft	*Non tu in mei necesse est*
Lices foerme	*Cadaveris næniis (v. epulis fune-*
Leng sorgian.	*Diu lugere.* [*bribus meis)*
Onsend Higelace	*Mitte Higelaco*
(Gif mec hild nime)	*(Si me bellum auferat)*
Beadu-scruda betst	*Apparatum Martium optimum*
Ðæt mine breost wereð,	*Quod pectus meum gerit,*
Hrægla selest,	*Gestamen præstantissimum,*
Ðæt is hrædlan laf	*Id est e spoliis conservatum*
Welandes geweorc.	*Welandi opus.*
Gæth awyrd swa hio scel.	*Accidat quid (fatum) velit.*

[1] gelyfan is literally *permittere.* I doubt my construction of the whole clause.

VII. [p. 44, l. 16.]

Ful oft ȝebeotedon	*Sæpe minati sunt*
Beorȩ druncne	*Cerevisio ebrii*
Ofer ealo wæȝe	*In symposio*
Oret mæcȝas,	*Heroes socii,*
Ðæt hie in beor-sele	*Uti in aulâ festivâ*
Bidan woldon	*Expectare vellent*
Grendles ġuðe	*Grendelis impetum*
Mid gryrum ecȝa.	*Sævâ acie* (armati).
Ðon wæs ðeos medo-heal	*Tum erat hæc hydromelis aula*
On morgen tid	*Tempore matutino*
Driht-sele dreor fah,	*Regia sedes cruore tincta,*
Ðon dæȝ lixte,	*Quum dies illuceret,*
Eal benc-ðeln	*Omnia scamna*
Blode bestȳmed,	*Sanguine perfusa,*
Heall heora dreore.	[*et*] *Aula illorum cæde.*
Ahte ic holdra ðy læs	*Possedi fortium eo minus*
Deorre duȝuðe	*Caras virtutes*
Ðe ða deað fornam.	*Quos Mors abstulit.*
Site nu to symle,	*Assideas nunc mensæ,*
And on sele-meoto	*Et in aulâ epularum*
Siȝe-hreð secȝa,	*Heros fortitudine illustris,*
Swa ðin sefa hwette.	*Prout animus inducat*
	(*v. Quo animum acuas*).

X. [p. 45, l. 26.]

And hyne ymb moniȝ	*Ac circa eum frequens*
Snellic sæ-rinc	*Alacer nauta*
Sele reste ȝebeah.	*Quietis sedem occupavit.*
Næniȝ heora ðohte	*Nemo eorum exspectavit*
Ðæt he ðanon scolde	*Quod inde futurus esset*
Eft earð lufan	*Iterum terram dilectam*

Æfre ȝesæcean,	*Unquam quærere,*
Folce oððe freoburh	*Gentem aut urbem*
Ðær he afæded wæs.	*In quâ educatus esset.*
Ac hie hæfdon ȝefrunen	*Atqui resciverant*
Ðæt hie ær to fela micles	*Quod olim nimis multos*
In ðæm winsele	*In eâ symporii aulâ*
Wæl-deað fornam	*Violenta mors abstuleret*
Denizea leode.	*Danicæ gentis.*

XI. [p. 46, l. 5.]

Ða com on more	*Tum venit in campum*
Under mist hleoðum,	*Sub nebularum montibus*
Grendel ȝonȝan.	*Grendel gradiens.*
Godes yrre bær,	*Dei iram ferebat,*
Mynte se man-scaða	*Credebat hominum inimicus*
Manna cynnes	*Generis humani*
Sumne besyrwan	*Aliquem* se *illaqueare*
In sele ðam hean.	*In aulâ ea excelsâ.*
Wod under wolcnum	*Ibat sub nubibus*
To ðæs ðe he win-reced	*Donec ædes gaudii*
Gold-sele ȝumena	*Auratam aulam hominum*
Gearwost wisse	*In promptu aspiceret*
Fættum fahne;	*Crateribus splendidum;*
Ne wæs ðæt forma sið	*Non erat id primum tempus*
Ðæt he Hroðȝares	*Quod ille Hrodgari*
Ham ȝesohte.	*Domum quæsiverat.*
Næfre he on aldor dazum	*Nunquam ille antiquitus*
Ær ne siððan	*Neque prius neque postea*
Heardran hæle	*Fortiores duces*
Heal-ðeȝnes fand.	*Aulæ thanos invenit.*
Com ða to recede	*Venit tunc ad palatium*
Rinc siðian	*Homo gradiens*
Dreamum bedæled,	*Gaudio orbatus,*

Duru sona on arn	*In ostium citò incurrit*
Fyr-bendum fæst	*Repagulis munitum*
Syððan he hire folmum[1]. . . man	*Exinde ille manibus . . .*
Onbread ða bealo-hydiz,	*Disrupit tunc malevolus,*
Ða he bolzen wæs,	*Quum iratus esset*
Recedes muðan.	*Domûs januam.*
Raðe æfter ðon	*Facilè exinde*
On fazne flor	*Super lucidum pavimentum*
Feond treddode,	*Hostis incessit,*
Eode yrre mod,	*Ibat incensus animo,*
Him of eagum stod	*Illi ex oculis stetit*
Lizze zelicost	*Flammæ simillimum*
Leoht unfæzer.	*Lumen fœdum.*
Geseah he in recede	*Vidit in palatio*
Rinca manize	*Homines multos*
Swefan sibbe-ȝedriht,	*Dormire agmen socium,*
Samod æt gædere	*Simul unâ*
Mazo-rinca heap.	*Cognatorum multitudinem.*
Ða his mod ahloz,	*Tum animus ejus gaudebat,*
Mynte ðæt he gedælde	*Sperabat dissociare*
Ær ðon dæz cwome	*Antequam dies adesset*
Atol azlæca	*Fœdus latro*
Anra zehwilces	*Uniuscujusque*
Lif wið lice;	*Vitam a corpore;*
Ða him alumpen wæs	*Tunc illi accidit*
Wist-fylle wenne,	*Epularum spes,*
Wes wyrd ðazen	*Fortunam (suam) eo provectam esse*
Ðæt he ma moste	*Quod plures posset*
Manna cynnes	*Humani generis*
Ðiczean ofer ða niht.	*Vorare eâ nocte.*

[1] Possibly we should read 'on innan' *introrsum.*

Ðryd-swyð beheold	*Animosus expectabat*
Mæg Hiȝelaces	*Cognatus Higelaci*
Hu se man scaða	*Quomodo inimicus hominum*
Under fær-gripum	*Sub complexu subito*
Gefaran wolde.	*Se haberet.*
Ne ða se aglæca	*Nihil jam ille fœdus*
Yldan ðohte,	*Morandum duxit,*
Ac he ȝefenȝ	*Verùm ceperat*
Hraðe forman siðe	*Facilè olim*
Slæpendne rinc,	*Dormientès viros,*
Slat unwearnum,	*Occiderat ex improviso,*
Bat banlocan,	*Momorderat ossium claustra,*
Blod edrum dranc	*Sanguinem venis exsuxerat*
Syn-snædum swealh	*Frustim deglutiverat*
Sona hæfde	*Mox*
Unlyfiȝendes	*E vitâ destituto (corpore)*
Eal ȝefeormod	*Omnino epulatus erat*
Fet and folma.	*Pedes manusque.*
Forth near æt-stop,	*Propius accessit,*
Nam ða mid handa	*Arripuit tunc manibus*
He ȝeðihtiȝne	*Non inopinantem*
Rinc on ræste:	*Virum in cubiculo:*
Rælhte ongean,	*Porrexit se exadverso, (Beowulfus)*
Feond mid folme	*Hostem manu.*
He onfenȝ hrathe	*Arripuit celeriter*
Inwit ðancum	*Fraude præcogitatâ*
And wið earn ȝesæt.	*Et in pavimentum dejecit.*
Sona ðæt onfunde	*Mox id invenit*
Fyrena[1] hyrde	*Scelerum custos*
Ðæt he ne mette	*Quod non expertus fuerat*
Middan ȝeardes	*Mediæ terræ.*

[1] This appears a harsh figure, but I translate it literally.

Eorðan sceatta	*In orbis regionibus*
On elran men	*Validiores homines*
Mund-ȝripe maran.	*Manûs complexu acriores.*
He on mode wearð	*Ille in animo erat*
Forht on ferhðe	*Territus in pectore*
No ðy ær fram mealhte.	*Nequaquam effugere potuit.*
Hyȝe wæs him	*Cura fuit illi*
Hin fus wolde	*Præceps vellet*
On heolster fleon,	*In tenebras fugere,*
Secan deofla ȝedræȝ.	*Quærere dæmonum sedem.*
Ne wæs his drohtoð thær	*Non fuit ejus conversatio ibi*
Swylce he on ealder daȝum	*Qualem antiquitùs*
Ær gemette.	*Unquam invenerat.*
Gemunde tha se goda	*Meminit tunc fortis ille*
Mæȝ Hiȝelaces	*Socius Higelaci*
Æfen spræce.	*Vespertini sermonis.*
Uplanȝ astod	*Erectus stetit,*
And him fæste wið-fenȝ.	*Et eum validè arripuit.*
Finȝras burston.	*Digiti defecerunt.*
Eoten wæs utweard.	*Jutus evasit.*
Eorl furður stop,	*Dux instabat,*
Mynte se mæra	*Observabat heros*
Hwær he mealhte	*Quò possit* (Grendel)
Swa widre ȝewindan	*Locorum se recipere*
And on weȝ thanon	*Et e viâ exinde*
Fleon on fen hopu.	*Fugere in paludis latebras.*
Wiste his finȝra ȝeweald	*Ostendebat ejus digitorum vis*
On ȝrames ȝrapum?	*In bellico complexu*
Thæt he wæs ȝeocor,	*Quod ille erat violentior,*
Sið ðæt se hearm-scatha	*Ex quo exitialis iste*
Tha to Heorute ateah.	*Tunc ad Heorot accesserat.*
Dryht-sele dynede:	*Regia aula strepuit:*
Denum eallum wearth	*Danis omnibus erat*

Ceaster buendum.	*Civitatem incolentibus*
Cenra ȝehwylcum	*Hominibus singulis*
Eorlum ealu[1] scerwen.	*Ducibus cerevisium ablatum.*
Yrre wæron begen	*Irati erant ambo*
Reðe ren-wearðas.	*Feroces agilesque.*
Reced hlynsode,	*Aula personuit,*
Ðæt wæs wundor micel	*Erat illud mirum maximè*
Ðæt se winsele	*Quod palatium*
Wið-hæfde heaðo deorum,	*Restiterit magnis feris,*
Ðæt he on hrusan ne feol	*Adeo ut non in terram ruere*
Fæȝer fold-bold.	*Pulcra regionis aula.*
Ac ðe ðæs fæste wæs	*Quin ea obfirmata erat*
Innan and utan	*Intra et extra*
Iren bendum	*Ferreis repagulis*
Searo ðoncum besmiðod.	*Solerti ingenio fabricata.*
Ðær fram sylle abeaȝ	*Ibi e fulcimento inclinavit*
Medu-benc moniȝ	*Hydromelis sedes multa*
(Mine ȝefræȝe)	(*Quod audivi*)
Golde ȝereȝnad	*Auro oblita*
Ðær tha ȝraman wunnon.	*Quâ tum inimicitiâ coierunt.*
Ðæs ne wendon ær	*Id non exspectabant antea*
Witan Scyldinȝa	*Optimates Scyldingorum*
Ðæt hit amid ȝemete	*Quod eam in congressu*
Manna æniȝ	*Hominum quispiam*
Hetlic and ban-faȝ	*Inimicus et lethiferus*
Tobrecan meahte,	*Disrumpere posset,*
Listrum tolucan,	*Machinationibus divellere,*
Nymðe liȝes fæðm	*Nisi flammæ vis*

[1] My translation here is probably incorrect. The only sense it will bear is, that the beer-vessels in the hall were destroyed or overturned, and their contents spilled in the contest—a circumstance which would hardly be mentioned by a poet however rude.

Swalge on swaðule.	*Devoraret subito.*
[1] Sweg upastag.	*Sonus ascendit.*
Niwe geneahhe.	*De novo corripuit.* (*sc. Beowulfus Grendelem*)
Nord-Denum stod	*Danis Borealibus erat*
Atelic egesa	*Tetra formido*
Anra gehwilcum	*Universis*
Ðara the of wealle	*Eorum qui e muro*
Wop gehyrdon,	*Ejulatum audiverunt,*
Gryre leoðgalan	*Horridum cantum*
Godes andsacan	*Dei inimico* (editum)
Sigeleasne sang,	*Triumphi expers melos,*
Sar wunigean	*Graviter ejulare*
Helle hæfton;	*Stygium captivum;*
Heold hine to fæste	*Tenuit eum nimis arctè*
Se ðe manna wæs	*Qui hominum erat*
Mægene strengest	*Robore præstantissimus*
On ðæm dæge	*In illis diebus*
Ðisses lyfes.	*Hujus vitæ.*

XII. [p. 48, l. 16.]

Laðlic sar gebad	*Tetrum vulnus experiebatur*
Atol æglæca,	*Fœdus hostis,*
Him on eaxle wearð	*Ei in humero erat*
Syndohl sweotol,	*Cicatrix manifesta,*
Seonowe onsprungon,	*Nervi dissiliebant,*
Byrston ban-locan.	*Disruptæ sunt ossium commissuræ.*
Beowulfe wearð	*Beowulfo erat*
Guðhreð gyfeðe.	*Victoria concessa.*
Scolde Grendel ðonan	*Gestiebat Grendel inde*

[1] or, *Vox iterum correpti* (*sc. Grendelis*), or, *Iterum abundè.* The passage is obscure.

Feorh seoc fleoh	*Animi æger aufugere*
Under fen hleoðа	*Sub paludes montium*
Secean winleas wic.	*Quærere illætabilem domum.*
Wiste ðe geornor	*Novit certiùs*
Ðæt his aldres wæs	*Quod sibi vitæ*
Ende ȝeȝonȝen,	*Finis ingrueret,*
Dogera dæȝ-rim.	*Dierum numerus* (expletus).

XVII. [p. 50, *sub fine.*]

Leoð wæs asungen	*Carmen decantatum fuerat*
Gleomannes ȝyð.	*Vatis poema.*
Gamen eft astah,	*Lætitia mox increbuit,*
Beorhtæde benc-sweȝ,	*Emicuit sedilium vox,*
Byrelas sældon	*Pocillatores obtulere*
Win of wunder fatum.	*Vinum e speciosis crateribus.*
Ða cwom Wealðeo forð,	*Tum egressa est Wealtheoa,*
Gan under ȝyldnum beaȝe,	*Incedebat sub aureis ornamentis,*
Ðar ða ȝodan	*Quà boni*
Twegen sæton	*Duo sedebant*
Suhter ȝefæderan.	*Fratrueles.*
Ða ȝyt wæs hiera	*Adhuc erat eis*
Sib æt ȝædere,	*Concordia inter se,*
Æȝhwylc oðrum trywe.	*Invicem fidelibus.*
Swylc ðær Hunferd	*Simul ibi Hunferd*
Ðyle æt fotum sæt	*Orator ad pedes sedebat*
Frean Scyldinȝa.	*Regis Scyldingi.*
Gehwylc hiora	*Unusquisque eorum*
His ferhðe treowde,	*Animum ejus novit,*
Ðæt he hæfde mod micel	*Quod habuerit spiritum elatum*
Ðeah ðe he his maȝum	*Etsi sociis*
Nære arfæst	*Nunquam præsidio firmo est*
Æt ecȝa ȝelacum.	*In acierum ludo.*
Spræc ða	*Tum locuta est*
Ides Scyldinȝa.	*Uxor Scyldingi.*

" Onfoh ðissum fulle,	" *Accipe hoc poculum,*
Freo drihten min,	*Care Domine mi,*
Sinces brytta,	*Auri largitor,*
Ðu on sælum wæs	*Tu in aulâ sis*
Gold-wine ȝumena,	*Liberalis hominibus,*
And to Geatum spræc	*Et Gothos adloquere*
Mildum wordum.	*Propitio sermone.*
Swa sceal man don.	*Ita debet homo facere.*
Beo wiŏ Geatas glæd	*Sis erga Gothos largus*
Geofena ȝemyndiȝ	*Donorum memor*
Nean and feorran.	*Procul ac prope.*
Ðu nu hafast,	*Nunc habes,*
Me man sæȝde,	(Prout) *mihi referunt,*
Ðæt ðu for suna wolde	*Quem tu in filii* (loco) *velis*
Hereric hebban.	*Victorem habere.*
Heorot is ȝefælsbd	*Hertha est liberata,*
Beah-sele beorhta.	*Armillarum sedes pulcra.*
Bruc ðenden ðu mote	*Fruere dum potueris*
Manigra meda,	*Multis opibus,*
And ðinum maȝum læf	*Et tuis cognatis relinquas*
Folc and rice;	*Populum ac regnum* (curandum);
Ðonne ðu forð scyle	*Quum tu hinc abeas*
Metoð sceaft seon.	*Creatorem visurus.*
Ic minne can	*Ego meum novi*
Glædne Hroðulf,	*Bonum Hrothulfum,*
Ðæt he ða ȝeoȝoðe wile	*Quod ille juventutem velit*
Arum healdan,	*Præsidio tueri,*
Gyf ðu ær ðonne hē,	*Si tu prius quam ille,*
Wine Scyldinȝa!	*Care Scyldinga!*
Worold oflætest."	*Terram derelinquas."*
Hwearf ða bi bence	*Ibat tunc juxta scamna*
Ðær hyre byre wæron,	*Quà filii ejus erant,*
Hreðric and Hroðmund,	*Hrethric et Hrothmund,*
And hæleða bearn	*Et nobilium nati*

Giogoð æt ȝædere.	*Juvenes unà.*
Ðær se ȝoda sæt	*Ibi bonus sedebat*
Beowulf Geata	*Beowulf Gothus*
Be ðæm ȝebroðrum twæm.	*Juxta fratres duos.*

XVIII. [p. 52, l. 9.]

"Ic ðe ðæs lean ȝeman.	*"Tibi hanc mercedem offero.*
Hafast ðu ȝefered,	*Tu* id *consecutus es,*
Ðæt ðe feor and neah	*Ut te longè latéque*
Ealne wide ferhð	*Omnes elatioris animi*
Weras ehtiȝad.	*Viri prædicent.*
Efne swa side	*Vel ubicunque*
Swa sæ bebuȝeð	*Oceanus circundat*
Windeȝeard weallas."	*Vento obvia præcipitia."*

XX. [p. 53, l. 14.]

Hroðȝar maðelode	*Hrothgar locutus est*
Helm Scyldinȝa,	*Rex Scyldinga,*
"Ne frin ðu æfter sælum,	*"Ne roges de salute,*
Sorh is ȝeniwod	*Luctus renovatus est*
Deniȝea leodum.	*Danorum genti.*
Dæd is Æschere	*Mortuus est Æscherus*
Yrmenlafes	*Yrmenlafi*
Yldre broðor,	*Frater natu major,*
Min runwita	*Consiliarius meus*
And min rædbora	*Ac minister*
Eaxl ȝestealla."	*Lateris comes."*

[p. 53, l. 27.]

Hie dyȝel lond	*Ille tenebrosam sedem*
Warigeað wulf hleoðu	*Custodit lupinos montes*
Windiȝe næssas	*Ventosa promontoria*

[1] Frecne fen-ȝelad	*Horridas palúdes*
Ðær fyrȝen stream	*Ubi igneum flumen*
Under næssa ȝeniðu	*Subter promontorii clivos*
Niðer ȝewiteð	*Infra ruit*
Flod under foldan;	*Fluvius sub terrâ;*
Nis ðæt feor heonan	*Non est ille* (locus) *procul abhinc*
Mil ȝemearces,	*Mille passuum,*
Ðæt se mere standeð;	*Ubi palus sita est;*
Ofer ðæm honȝiað	*Super eam pendent*
Hrinde bearwas,	*Antiqua* (corticosa) *nemora,*
Wudu wyrtum fæst	*Sylva radicibus firma*
Wæter ofer helmað.	*Aquam obtegit.*
Ðær mæȝ nihta ȝewhæm	*Ibi potest nocte quávis*
Nið-wundor seon	*Portentosum miraculum videri*
Fyr on flode.	*Ignis super fluvium.*

[p. 54, l. 10.]

" Nu is se ræd ȝelanȝ	" *Nunc est sermo attinens*
Eft æt ðe anum.	*Profecto ad te solum.*
Earð-ȝiðe ȝonst	*Terræ latebram nosti*
Frecne stowe	*Horridam mansionem*
Ðær ðu findan miht	*Quâ tu invenire potes*
Fela sinnigne secȝ.	*Multos nefandos homines.*
Sec ȝif ðu dyrre;	*(I) pete si audeas;*
Ic ðe ða fæhðe	*Ego tibi pro hâc pugnâ*
Feo leanize	*Mercedem rependam*
Eald ȝestreonum	*Antiquis gazis*
Swa ic ær dyde	*Uti prius feci*
Wundun ȝolde	*Torto auro* (*sc. armillis*)
Gyf ðu of weȝ cymest."	*Modo tu ex itinere* isto *redeas.*"

[1] or, *Sævus imperet*, if 'fenȝelad' be written for 'fenȝelað,' (from 'fenȝel' *rex.*)

XXI. [p. 54, l. 18.].

Beowulf maðelode	*Beowulf locutus est.*
Bearn Ægtheowes.	*Natus Ægtheowo.*
" Ne sorga, snotor guma!	*" Ne doleas, vir prudens!*
Selre bið æghwæm	*Melius evenit unicuique*
Ðæt he his freond wrece	*Uti ille amicum ulsciscatur*
Ðonne he fela murne.	*Quem multum lugeat.*
Ure æghwhylc sceal	*Nostrum quisque debet*
Ende gebidan	*Finem expectare*
Woroldé lifes,	*Terrestris vitæ,*
Wyrce se ðe mote	*Operetur qui potest*
Domes ær deaðe	*Judicium ante mortem*
Ðæt bið driht gumena	*Quod sit ab hominum Rege (so*
Unlifgendum	*Mortuis* [*Ded*
Æfter selest.	*Postea optimum.*
Aris, rices weard,	*Surge, regni custos,*
Uton hraðe feran,	*Foras confestim ito,*
Grendles magan	*Grendelis cognati*
Gang sceawigan,	*Vestigia indicato,*
Ic hit ðe gehate	*Ego id tibi spondeo*
No he on helm losað	*Non ille in præsidium aufugiet*
Ne on foldan fæðm	*Neque in terræ sinum*
Ne on fyrgen holt	*Neque in igneum nemus*
Ne on gyfenes grund.	*Neque in paludis abyssum.*
Gan ðær he wille.	*Fugiat quo velit.*
Ðis dogor ðu	*Hodie tu*
Geðyld hafa	*Sustinuisti*
Weana gehwylces,	*Mala quævis,*
Swa ic ðe wene to."	*Ita tibi spondeo."*

[p. 55, l. 6.]

Ofereode ða	*Superabat tunc*
Æðelinga bearn	*Nobilium soboles*

Steap stan-hliðo,	*Arduos saxorum clivos,*
[1] Stiȝe nearwe,	*Semitâ arctâ,*
Enȝean waðas	*Angusto itinere*
Uncuð ȝelad,	*Ignotam viam,*
Neowle næssas,	*Præcipitia promontoria,*
Nicor-husa fela.	*Monstrorum domos multas.*
He feara sum	*Ille quatuor aliquos*
Beforan ȝenȝde	*Præ se misit*
Wisra manna	*Prudentes viros*
Wonȝ sceawian;	*Uti viam indicarent;*
Oð ðæt he faringa	*Donec ille subitò*
Fyrȝen beamas	*Sylvestria robora*
Ofer harne stan	*Super canam rupem*
Hleonian funde,	*Impendere invenit,*
Wynleasne wudu.	*Injucundum nemus.*
Wæter ùnderstod	*Aqua subtus jacebat*
Dreoriȝ and-ȝedrefed.	*Lugubris et turbidus.*
Denum eallum wæs	*Danis omnibus wæs*
Winum Scyldinȝa	*Amicis Scyldingi*
Weorce on mode	*Labor in animo*
To ȝeðolianne,	*Sustinendus,*
Ðeȝne monegum,	*Thanis multis,*
Oncyð eorla ȝehwæm,	*Insolitus satrapa cuique,*
Syððan Æsceres	*Postquam Æscheri*
On ðam holmclife	*In littoris anfractu*
Hafelan metton.	*Caput invenerunt.*
Flod blode weol	*Fluctus sanguine æstuabat*
Folc to sæȝon	*Populo adspiciente*
Hatan heolfre.	*Calido tabo.*

[1] The apposition so characteristic of Saxon poetry would perhaps be better preserved by continuing the accusative.

Semitam arctam,
Angustum iter.

Horn stundum sǫng,	*Cornua interim sonuerunt,*
Fuslic fuhton leod,	*Promptè pugnabat populus,*
Feða eal ȝesæt.	*Aciem universam instruxerunt.*
Gesawon ða æfter wætere	*Videbant tum juxta undas*
Wyrm cynnes fela,	*Serpentes multos,*
Sellice sæ-dracan	*Mirabiles maris dracones*
Sund cunnian;	*Littus custodire;*
Swylce on næs hleoðum	*Pariter in promontorii clivis*
Nicras licȝean.	*Monstra jacere.*

[p. 55, l. 25.]

Ac se hwita helm	*Et ille candidam galeam*
Hafelan werede	*Capite gerebat*
Se the mere ȝrundas	*Qui paludis abysso*
Menȝan scolde,	*Appelleret,*
Secan sund ȝebland,	*Tentaret æquor,*
Since ȝeweorðad	*Argento splendidâ*
Befongen frea-wrasnum,	*Circumcinctus loricâ,*
Swa hyne fyrndaȝum	*Quam illi antiquitùs*
Worhte wæpna smið,	*Fabricaverat armorum faber,*
Wundrum teode,	*Mire fecerat,*
Besette swynlicum	*Ornaverat aprorum formis*
Thæt hyne syððan	*Uti eam olim*
Ne brond ne beado mecas	*Neque ensis neque cædis telum*
Bitan ne mealhton.	*Mordere posset.*
Næs ðæt ðonne mætost	*Non erat id tum minimum*
Mæȝen fultuma	*Virtutis auxilium*
Ðæt him on ðearfe lah	*Quod ei in opus (hocce) imposuit*
Ðyle Hroðgares;	*Orator Hrodgari;*
Wæs ðæm hæft-mece	*Fuit ensi manubriato*
Hrunting nama,	Hrunting *nomen,*
Ðæt wæs anforan	*Qui fuit primus*
Eald ȝestreona.	*Veteris gazæ.*

Ecg wæs iren	*Acies erat ferrea*
Ater tanum fah,	*Veneno vegetabili tincta,*
Ahyrded heaðo swate.	*Indurata potenti liquore.*
Næfre hit æt hilde ne swac	*Nunquam ea in bello fefellit*
Manna ænigum	*Virum ullum*
Þara ðe hit mid mundum bewand	*Eorum qui eam manibus gesserint*
Se ðe gryre siðas	*Qui terribiles vias* (belli)
Gegan dorste,	*Ire ausus est,*
Folc stede fara.	*Castrense iter.*
Næs ðæt forma sið	*Non erat illud primum tempus*
Ðæt hit ellen weorc	*Quo illud heroicum opus*
Æfnan scolde.	*Patrare deberet.*

XXII. [p. 56, l. 14.]

Beowulf maðelode	*Beowulf loquebatur*
Bearn Ægtheowes:	*Filius Ægtheowi:*
" Geðenc nu se mæra	" *Reminiscere nunc illustris*
Maga Healfdenes	*Nate Healfdano*
Snottra fengel,	*Prudens rex,*
Nu ic eom siðes fus,	*Quum jam sim itineri accinctus,*
Gold-wine gumena,	*Liberalis amice hominum,*
Hwæt wit geospræcon;	*Quod verbis egimus;*
Gif ic æt ðearfe	(*Scilicet*) *modo ad necessitatem*
Ðinre scolde	*Tuam*
Aldre linnan,	*Vitâ destitutus fuero,*
Ðæt ðu me awære	*Quod tu mihi esses*
Forð gewitenum	*Mortuo*
On fæder stæle,	*In patris loco,*
Wæs ðu mundbora	*Sis tu protector*
Minum mago ðegnum	*Meorum commilitonum*
Hond gesellum,	*Manu sociatorum,*

Gif mec hild nime.	*Si me bellum abstulerit.*
Swylce ðu ða madmas	*Porro tu gazas*
Đe ðu me seldest,	*Quas mihi dedisti,*
Hroðgare leofa!	*Hrodgare amice!*
Higelace onsend.	*Higelaco mittas.*
Mæg ðonne on ðæm gold ongitan	*Potest ex eo auro intelligere*
Geata dryhten	*Gothorum rex*
Geseon sunu hrædles	*Videre illico*
Đonne he on ðæt sinc starað	*Quum istud argentum inspexerit*
Đæt ic gumcystum	*Quod ego thesauris*
Godne funde	*Liberalem invenerim*
Beaga bryttan.	*Annulorum largitorem.*
[1] Breac ðon moste	- - - - - - - -
And ðu Hunferð læt	*Et tu Hunferdo concedas*
Ealde lafe,	*Antiquum* κειμηλιον,
Wrætlic wæg-sweord,	*Bene fabricatum ensem,*
Wid-cuðne man	*Præclaro homini*
Heard-ecg habban.	*Acie durum habendum.*
Ic me mid Hruntinge	*Ego mihi cum Hruntingo*
Dom gewyrce,	*Judicium exsequar,*
Oððe mec deað nimeð."	*Aut me mors auferet."*
Æfter ðæm wordum	*Post hæc verba*
Weder-Geata leod	*Æolo-Gothus dux*
Efste mid elne	*Alacer virtute*
Nalas andsware	*Nullum responsum*
Bidan wolde.	*Exspectare voluit.*
Brim wylm onfeng	*Fluctus spumans excepit*
Hilde rince.	*Mavortium virum.*

[1] The construction of this line is very obscure. It might perhaps be rendered *Fruere dum possis,* if the context would admit of such an interpretation.

[p. 57, l. 11.]

Fyr leoht ȝeseah	*Ignis lumen vidit*
[1] Blacne leoman	*Purpureis radiis*
Beorhte scinan.	*Clarum coruscare.*

XXIII. [l. 24.]

Geseah ðа on searwum	*Conspexit tunc inter arma*
Siȝe-ead bil,	*Gladium facile victorem,*
Ealđ sweord Eotenisc	*Veterem ensem Juticum*
Ecȝum ðyhtiȝ,	*Acie validum,*
Wiȝena sweord.	*Bellatorum ensem.*
Mynd ðæt wæpna-cyst;	*Observabat telum istud;*
Buton hit wæs mære	*Verùm majus erat*
Đon æniȝ mon oðer	*Quàm quod alius quispiam*
To beadu lace	*Ad pugnæ ludum*
Æt-bæran mealhte,	*Efferre posset,*
God and ȝeafolic	*Bonum ac eximium*
Giȝanta ȝeweorc;	*Giganteum opus;*
He ȝefenȝ ða fetel hilt.	*Arripuit tunc capulum.*

[p. 58, l. 5.]

Ban-hringas bræc;	*Ossium annulos fregit;*
Bil eal ðurh wođ	*Telum per omnem penetravit*
Fæȝne flæsc homan.	*Moribundam carnem.*
Heo on flet ȝecronȝ.	*Illa in pavimentum corruit.*
Sweord wæs swatiȝ,	*Ensis erat cruentus,*
Secȝ weorce ȝefeh.	*Militare opus perfectum.*
Lixte se leoma,	*Effulgebat lumen,*
Leoht innestod,	*Lux intus stetit,*
Efne swa of hefne	*Non aliter quàm cum a cælo*
Hadre scineđ	*Lucidus splendet*

[1] 'Blaca fyr,' Cædm. 80. 15. 'Blac-ern' *lychnus*—'blecan' *pallere*—Bleak (the fish); all, apparently, denominated in that spirit of contrast, not unusual in language, which applies the same term to opposites.

Rodores candel.	*Ætheris lampas.*
He æfter recede wlat,	*Ille per ædes gradiebatur,*
Hwearf ða be wealle	*Incessit juxta muros*
Wæpen hafenade	*Ensem tenens*
Heard be hiltum	*Fortiter a capulo*
Higelaces ðegn	*Higelaci minister*
Yrre and anrædnes.	*Irâ ac constantiâ* (sc. *Iratus et constans animi*).

[p. 58, l. 29.]

. . . . On mere staredon;	*In mare intuebantur;*
Wiston and ne wendon	*Agnoverunt, ac non exspectave-*
Ðæt hie heora wine drihten	*Quod amicum ducem* [*rant,*
Selfne gesawon.	*Ipsum videbant.*
Ða ðæt sweord ongan	*Tum ensis ille incepit*
Æfter heaðo swate	*Post ingentem cædem*
Hilde gicelum	*Belli stillicidio*
Wig-bil wanian.	*Telum deficere.*
Ðæt wæs wundra sum,	*Id erat mirum aliquod,*
Ðæt hit eal gemealt	*Quod omnis liquefactus est*
Ise gelicost	*Glaciei simillimus*
Ðonne forstes bend	*Quum prainæ vinculum*
Fæder onlæteð,	*Pater resolvit,*
Onwindeð wæl-rapas	*Explicat aquarum funes*
Se geweald hafað	*Qui arbitrium habet*
Sæla and mæla,	*Locorum et temporum,*
Ðæt is soð metod.	*Is est verus Creator.*

XXIV. [p. 59, l. 25.]

Beowulf maðelode	*Beowulf locutus est*
Bearn Ægtheowes	*Filius Ægtheowi.*
" Hwæt we ðe ðæs sæ-lac,	" *Aliquid nos tibi hoc marinum* (sc. nautarum) *munus,*
Sunu Healfdanes,	*Fili Healfdeni,*

Leod Scyldinga,	*Rex Scyldinga,*
Lustum brohton	*Lubenter offerimus*
Tires to tacne,	*Victoriæ in signum,*
Đe ðu her to-locast.	*Quod hìc aspicis.*
Ic ðæt unsofte	*Ego hunc inamœnum*
Ealdre ȝediȝde;	*Mortalem superavi;*
Wiȝȝe under wætere	*Mavortium sub undâ*
Weorc ȝeneðde	*Opus peregi*
Earfoðlice.	*Difficulter.*
Æt rihte wæs	*Pro justitiâ*
Guð [1] ȝetwæfed."	*Pugna exitum habuit."*

[p. 60, l. 6.]

Ic hit ðe ðonne ȝehate	*Ego id tibi tunc vovi*
Đæt ðu on Heorote most	*Quod tu in Herthâ*
Sorh-leas swefan	*Doloris expers dormires*
Mid ðinra secȝa ȝedryht	*Cum tuo nobilium comitatu*
And ðeȝna ȝehwylc	*Et thanis singulis*
Đinra leoda.	*Tui populi.*

XXV. [p. 60, l. 27.]

" Oferhyda ne ȝym,	*Arrogantiam ne foveas,*
Mære ceмpa!	*Illustris heros!*
Nu is ðines mæȝnes blæd	*Nunc est roboris tui flos*
Ane hwile.	*Certo tempore.*
Eft sona bið	*Mox postea erit*
Đæt ðec adl oððe ecȝ	*Ut te aut morbus aut ensis*
Eafoðes [2] ȝetwæfeð,	*"Vitâ* (corde) *privabit,*
Oððe fyres fenȝ,	*Aut ignis violentia,*
Oððe flodes wylm,	*Aut torrentis unda,*
Oððe ȝripe meces,	*Aut ictus gladii,*

[1] I have given to 'ȝetwæfed' the only sense which appears to be authorized by the context. Lye gives none but *deficere.*

[2] I have again been obliged to give a conjectural translation of 'ȝetwæfeð.'

Oððe ȝares fliht,	*Aut sagittæ volatus,*
Oððe atol yldo,	*Aut tetra senectus,*
Oððe eaȝena bearhtm	*Aut oculorum acies*
Forsiteð and forsworceð	*Obstructa et obscurata*
Semninȝa bið:	*Subitò erit:*
Ðæt ðec dryht-ȝuma	(Ita) *ut te principem* (licet)
Deað oferswydeð.	*Mors exsuperet.*
Swa ic hring Dena	*Ita ego gentem Danorum*
Hund missera	*Multos annos*
Weold under wolcnum,	*Rexi sub cælo,*
And hiȝ wiȝȝe beleac	*Et potens bello obsedi*
Manigum mæȝða	*Multas gentes*
Geond ðysne middan-ȝard	*Per hanc terram*
Æscum and ecȝum.	*Clypeis et ensibus.*
Ðæt ic me ænigne	*Ita ut mihi quempiam*
Under sweȝles begonȝȝe	*Sub cæli firmamento*
Sacan ne tealde;	*Nocere vix crederem;*
Hwæt me ðæs on eðle	*Quale mihi hic in patriâ*
Edwendan cwom;	*Supervenit;*
Gyrn æfter ȝomene	*Inhians viris*
Seoððan Grendel wearð	*Ex quo Grendel ingruebat*
Eald ȝewinna,	*Antiquus hostis,*
Inȝenȝa min.	*Incursor meus.*
Ic ðære socne	*Ego propter hoc malum*
Sinȝales wæȝ	*Continuò tuli*
Mod ceare micle."	*Animi curam ingentem."*

[p. 61, l. 16.]

Geast inne swæf,	*Hospes intus dormiit,*
Oð ðæt hrefn blaca	*Donec corvus niger*
Heofones wynne	*Cæli delicias*
Bliðheort bodode	*Lætus annuntiaret*
Coman beorht.	*Adesse lucem.*

XXVII. [p. 62, l. 14.]

Cwom ða to flode	*Venit tunc ad mare*
Fela modiȝra	*Multorum fortium*
Hæȝ-stealdra hring,	*Nobilium turma,*
Net bæron locene	*Rete* (loricam) *gerebant concate-*
Leoðo syrcan.	*Membris indusium.* [*natum*
Land-weard onfand	*Littoris custos aspexit*
Eft-siðð eorla	*Reditum ducis*
Swa he ær dyde.	*Uti priùs aspexerat* (adventum).
No he mid hearme	*Non ille injuriosè*
Of hliðeś nosan	*E clivi promontorio*
Gæsne grette,	*Hospites salutavit,*
Ac him toȝeanes rad,	*Sed equitavit obviam,*
Cwæð thæt wilcuman	*Alloquebatur gratulabundus*
Wedera leoḳum	*Æolicos viros*
Scawan scir hame.	(Quod) *reviserent terram patriam*
To scipe foron.	*Navem petebant.*
Ða wæs onsande	*Tum fuit immissa*
Sæ ȝeap naca	*Mari curva ratis*
Hladen here-wædum,	*Onusta militari apparatu,*
Hringed stefna	*Torta prora*
Mearum and maðmum,	*Equis ac divitiis* (gravida),
Mæst hlifade	*Malus elevatus est*
Ofer Hroðȝares	*Super Hrodgari*
Hord ȝestreonum.	*Cumulatos thesauros.*
He ðæm bat-wearde	*Ille* (Beowulfus) *navium custodi*
Bunden ȝolde	*Capulo deaurato*
Swurd ȝesealde,	*Ensem tradidit,*
Ðæt he syððan wæs	*Qui postea esset*
On meodo bence	*In hydromelis cubili*
Maðma ðy weorðre	*Ornamentorum pretiosissimus*
Yrfe lafe.	*Hæredibus relinquendus.*
Gewat him on nacan,	*Ascendebat navem,*

Drefan deop wæter,	*Sulcabant altum æquor,*
Dena land ofȝeaf.	*Danorum terram reliquerunt.*
Ða wæs be mæste	*Ibi erat ad malum*
Mere hrægla sum	*Marina supellex*
Seȝl sale fæst.	*Velum funibus constrictum.*
Sund-wudu wunede,	*Maris lignum* (cymba) *natabat*
No ðær weȝ-flotan	*Neque tunc maris sulcatorem*
Wind ofer yðum	*Ventus super undas*
Siðes ȝetwæfde.	*Itinere destituit.*
Sæȝenȝa forfleat	*Maris viator gradiebatur*
Famiȝ heals	*Spumante collo*
Forð ofer yðe,	*Per fluctus,*
Bunden stefna	*Tortâ prorâ*
Ofer brim streamas;	*Per oceani æquora;*
Ðæt hi Geata clifu	*Ita ut Gothicas rupes*
Onȝitan meahton,	*Attingere possent,*
Cuðe næssas.	*Nota promontoria.*
Ceol upȝeðranȝ	*Carina contendebat*
Lyft ȝeswenced,	*Vento fatigata,*
On lande stod.	*In terrâ stetit.*
Hræðe wæs æt holme	*Citò adfuit ad mare*
Hyð-weard ȝeara,	*Portûs custos alacer,*
Se ðe ær lange tid	*Is qui longo priùs tempore*
Leofra manna	*Amicorum hominum*
Fus æt-faroðe	*Avidus adventum*
Feor wlatode.	*E longinquo exspectaverat.*
Sælde to sande	*Appropinquavit littori*
Sid-fæðme scip	*Graviter onærata navis*
Oncear bendum fæst,	*Anchoræ morsibus retenta,*
Ðylæs hym yða ðrym	*Ne eam undarum concursus*
Wudu wynsuman	*(Lignum dilectum)*
Forwrecan meahte.	*Disrumpere possit.*
Het ða utberan	*Jussit tunc efferri* (Beowulfus)
Æðelinȝa ȝestreon	*Nobiles gazas*

Frætwe and fæt ȝold.	*Ornamenta ac vasa aurea.*
Næs him feor ðanon	*Neque procul inde erat*
To ȝesecanne	*Quo quærerent*
Sinces bryttan	*Argenti largitorem*
Hiȝelac Hreðling,	*Higelacum Hrethlingam,*
Ðær æt ham wunað,	*Quà domi versabatur*
Selfa mid ȝesiðum	*Ipse inter socios*
Sæ-wealle neah.	*Maris littus juxta.*
Bold wæs betlic	*Aula erat splendida*
Breȝo rof cyninȝ	*Magnanimi regis*
Heah healle.	*Altum palatium.*
Hyȝð swiðe ȝeonȝ	*Meditabatur multùm juvenis*
Wis wel ðungen	*Sapientiâ bene instructus*
Ðeah ðe wintra lyt.	*Etsi annis minor.*

XXVIII. [p. 64, l. 20.]

Gomela Scyldinȝ	*Grandævus Scyldinga*
Fela fricȝende	*Multa interrogans* (interfuit)
Feorran rehtlice.	*De longinquis solerter.*
Hwilum hilde deor	*Nunc heros carus*
Hearpan wynne	*Citharæ oblectationem*
Gomel wudu ȝrette,	*Senex lignum tangebat,* (sc. citharâ ludebat)
Hwilum ȝyd awræc	*Nunc carmen molitus est*
Soð and sarlic,	*Verum ac luctuosum,*
Hwilum syllic spell	*Nunc mirabilem fabulam*
Rehte æfter rihte	*Rite recitavit*
Rumheort cyninȝ;	*Magnanimus rex;*
Hwilum eft onȝan	*Nunc iterum incepit*
Eldo ȝebunden	*Senectute devinctus*
Gomel guð-wiȝa	*Longævus bellator*
Geoȝuðe cwidan	*Juventutis* (suæ) *narrare*
Hilde strenȝo.	*Bellicam virtutem.*
Hreðer inne weoll	*Pectus intus ferveba*

Ðonne he wintrum frod	*Quum ille annis provectus*
Worn ȝeminde.	*Multa memorabat.*
Swa we ðærinne	*Ita nos intus*
Andlanȝne dæȝ	*Per longam diem*
Mode naman.	*Animo oblectabamur.*

XXXIV. [p. 67, l. 18.]

Swa he niða ȝehwane	*Ita inimicitiæ cujusvis*
Genesen hæfde	*Superaverat*
Sliðra ȝeslyhta	*Duros conflictus*
Sunu Æcȝthiowes	*Filius Ægthiowi*
Ellen weorca,	*Virtutis opera,*
Oð ðone anne dæȝ	*Usque ad illum diem*
Ðe he wið ðam wyrme	*Quo contra serpentem*
Gewegan scolde.	*Decertaturus esset.*
Gewat ða XIIta sum	*Selegit tunc duodecim aliquos*
Torne ȝebolȝen	*Irâ accensus*
Dryhten Geata	*Rex Gothorum*
Dracan sceawian	*Serpentem uti monstrarent.*
Hæfde tha ȝefrunen	*Intellexerat nempe*
Hwanan sio fæhð aras,	*Unde injuria hæcce esset exorta,*
Bealo nið biorna.	*Exitiosa lis hominibus.*
Him to bearme cwom	*Illi in navem advenêre*
Maððum-fæt mære	*Thesaurorum vas maximum*
Ðurh ðæs mældan hond.	*Ad signum manu* datum.
Se wæs on ðam ðreate	*Erat in eâ turmâ*
Threotteo. . . .	*Manus triginta virorum.*
* * * *	* * * * *
Sceolde hean ðonon	*Accingebat se exinde ad altum*
Wonȝ wisian,	*Æquor invisendum,*
He ofer willan ȝionȝ,	*Undas pertransibat,*
To ðæs ðe he eorð sele	*Usque dum terrestrem domum*
Anne wisse,	*Solitariam conspiceret,*
Hlæw under hrusan,	*Tumulum sub monte,*

Holm wylme neh	*Maris fluctus propter*
Yð ȝewinne.	*Æstuantes.*
Se wæs innan full	*Illa fuit intus plena*
Wrætta and [1] wira.	*Mirabilium operum et [1] nequitia-*
Weord unhiore	*Custos sævus* [*rum.*
Gearo ȝuð-freca	*Promptus bellator*
Gold maðmas heold	*Auri thesauros tenebat*
Eald under eorðan.	*Veteres sub terrâ.*
Nis ðæt yðe ceap	*Non erat id facile inceptum*
To ȝeȝanȝenne	*Exsequendum*
Gumena ænigum.	*Homini cuivis.*
Gesæt ða on næsse	*Sedebat tunc in promontorio*
Nið-heard cyninȝ,	*Bello strenuus rex,*
Ðenden hælo abead	*Dum valediceret*
Heorð ȝeneotum	*Foci sociis*
Goldwine Geatum.	*Rex munificus Gothorum.*
Him wæs ȝeomor sefa:	*Ei erat mœstus animus:*
Wæfre and wælfus	*Acer ac cædis avidus*
Wyrð unȝemete neah	*Erat hostis prope*
Se ðe ðone ȝomelan	*Qui senem*
Gretan sceolde,	*Aggrederetur,*
Secean sawle hord,	*Invaderet animi sedem,*
Sundur ȝedælan	Et *divideret*
Lif wið lice.	*Vitam a corpore.*
* * * *	* * * *
Beowulf maðelode	*Beowulf loquebatur*
Bearn Æcȝtheowes:	*Filius Ægtheowi:*
" Fela ic on ȝiogoðe,	" *Multos ego in juventute*
Guð-ræsa ȝenæs	*Belli impetus sustinui*
Orleȝ hwila,	*Fatales horas,*
Ic ðæt eal ȝemon.	*Ego id omne memini.*

[1] 'Wira.' Thorkelin translates this simply *rerum.* My own rendering is like his, conjectural:—'wirȝian,' or 'wirian,' signifies *maledicere.*

Ic wæs syfan wintra	*Eram septennis*
Ða mec sinca baldor	*Quum me rex munificus*
Frea-wine folca	*Dilectus populo*
Æt minum fæder ȝenam.	*A patre meo excepit.*
Heold mec and hæfde	*Habuit me ac tenuit*
Hreðel cyninȝ;	*Hrethel rex;*
Geaf me sinc and symbel.	*Dedit mihi aurum et epulas.*
Sibbe ȝemunde;	*Adoptionem meminit;*
Næs ic him to life	*Neque eram ei per vitam*
Laðra owihte	*Inferior in re ullâ* habitus
Beorn in burȝum	*Puer in palatio*
Ðonne his bearna hwylc	*Quàm liberorum suorum quisquam*
Herebald and Hæðcyn	*Herebald et Hæthcyn*
Oððe Hiȝelac min."	*Vel Higelacus meus."*

XXXV. [p. 69, l. 9.]

Ares tha bi ronde	*Surgebat tunc sub clypeo*
Rof oretta,	*Illustris heros,*
Heard under helme	*Strenuus sub galeâ*
Hioro sercean bær	*Loricam ferebat*
Under stan cleofu,	*Sub rupis clivum,*
Strenȝo ȝetruwode	*Virtuti confisus*
Anes mannes,	*Unius hominis* (sui nempe),
(Ne bið swylce earȝes sið).	(*Non est talis ignavi mos*).
Geseah ða be wealle	*Videbat tunc ad murum*
Se ðe worna fela	*Ille qui magno numero*
Gumcystum ȝod	*Armis bonus*
Guða ȝediȝde	*Certamina tentaverat*
Hilde hlemma	*Belli fragore*
Ðonne hnitan feðan.	*Quum concurrerent phalanges.*
Stodan stanboȝan,	*Stabant lapidei fornices,*
Stream ut ðonan	*Flumen insuper*
Brecan of beorȝe,	*Exundabat e rupe,*
Wæs ðære burnan wælm	*Erat is igneus latex*

Heaðo fyrum hat,	*Ingentibus flammis calefactus,*
Ne meahte horde neah	*Neque poterat* aliquis *thesaurum*
Unbyrnende	*Flammâ intactus* [*prope*
Ænige hwile	*Ullo tempore*
Deop gedigan	*Abyssum penetrare*
For dracan lege.	*Propter draconis incubationem.*
Let ða of breostum	*Sinebat tunc e pectore*
Ða he gebolgen wæs	*Quum iratus esset*
Weder Geata leod	*Æolo-Gothorum rex*
Word utfaran.	*Vocem erumpere.*
Stearc-heort styrmde,	*Fortis animi sæviebat,*
Stefn in becom	*Vox intro missa est*
Heaðo torht hlynnan	*Summâ claritate resonans*
Under harne stan.	*Sub cano lapide.*
Hete wæs onhrered.	*Inimicitia erat excitata.*
Hord-weard oncniow	*Thesauri custos agnovit*
Mannes reorde.	*Mortalis vocem.*
Næs hæt mara fyrst	*Neque fuit diu priusquam*
Freode to friclan.	*Avidè appeteret.*
Frod ærest cwom	*Senex primùm venit*
Oruð aglæcean	*Halitu infractus*
Ut of stane.	*E lapide.*
Hal hilde swat	- - - -
Hruse dynede.	*Terra tremuit.*
Beorn under beorge	*Heros sub monte*
Bord-rand onswaf	*Clypeum obvertebat*
Wið ðam gryre gæste	*Contra torvum hostem*
Geata dryhten.	*Gothorum rex.*
* * * *	* * * * *
Sweord ær gebræd	*Gladium priùs citò extulit*
God guðcyning	*Bonus dux*
Gomele lafe.	*Antiquitùs relictum.*
Ecgum unglaw	*Acie immitis*
Ægwæðrum wæs	*Quibusvis fuit*

Bealo hyczendra,	*Injuriam molientibus,*
Broza fram oðrum.	*Terror contra alios.*
Stiðmod zestod	*Firmus animi stetit*
Wið steapne rond	*Sub alto clypeo*
Winia baldor.	*Princeps bellicosus.*

[p. 70, l. 2.]

Hond upabræd	*Manum extendebat*
Geata dryhten,	*Gothorum princeps,*
Gryre fahne floh	*Horridum inimicum percussit,*
(Inc zelafe)	*Meo auditu,*
Đæt sio ecz zewac	*Ita ut acies obtunderetur*
Brun on bane;	*Nigra contra ossa;*
Bat unswiðor,	*Telum impotens,*
Đonne his ðiod-cyninz	*Ubi dominus ejus*
Đearfe hæfde	*Opus haberet*
Bysizum zebeded.	*Necessitate compulsus.*
Đa wæs beorzes weard	*Tunc fuit montis custos*
Æfter heaðu swenze	*Post ingentem impetum*
On hreoum mode.	*Feroci animo.*
Wearp wæl fyre,	*Extulit se fatalis ignis,*
Wide sprunzon	*Latè erupit*
Hilde leoman hreð.	*Belli jubar sævum.*
Sizora ne zealp	*Victoriam non juctabat*
Gold wine Geata.	*Rex munificus Gothorum.*
Guð-bil zeswac	*Telum bellicum defecit*
Nacod æt niðe,	*Nudum in pugnâ,*
Swa hit ne sceolde	*Tanquam minimè debuerat*
Iren ærgod.	*Ferrum olim strenuum.*
Ne wæs ðæt eðe sið	*Neque erat longum ante-*
Đæt se mæra	*quam illustris*
Maza Eczðeowes	*Filius Ecgtheowi*
Grundwonz ðone	*Regionem illam*

Ofgyfan wolde,	*Mutare vellet,*
Sceolde willan	*Vellet avidè*
Wic eardian	*Intra urbem versari*
Elles hwergen.	*Alio se recipere.*
* * * *	* * * *
Næs ðа long to ðon	*Neque erat diu priusquam*
Ðæt ða aglæcean	*Infausto omine*
Hy æft gemetton.	*Iterum concurretur.*
Hyrte hyne hord-weard,	*Refecerat se thesauri custos,*
Hreðer æðme weoll	*Pectus æstuabat*
Niwan stefne.	*Renovato ululatu.*
Nearo ðrowode	*Angustias passus est*
Fyre befongen	*Igne correptus*
Se ðe ær folce weold.	*Qui olim populo imperabat.*

XXXVI. [p. 70, l. 26.]

Geseah his mondryhten	*Videbat* [Wiglaf] *dominum suum*
Under heregriman	*Sub casside*
Hat ðrowian.	*Injuriam pati.*
Gemunde ða ða are	*Recordabatur tunc honoris*
Ðe he him ær forgeaf,	*Quem ei olim largitus fuerat,*
Wicstede weligne,	*Domicilia pulcra,*
Wæg mundinga,	*Viarum arbitrium,*
Folc-rihta gehwylc,	*Jus populare unumquodque,*
Swa his fæder ahte.	*Tanquam pater ejus possiderat.*
Ne mihte ða forhabban,	*Non potuit tunc se reprimere,*
Hond-rond gefeng,	*Clypeum arripuit,*
Geolwe linde,	*Flavam tiliam,*
Gomel swyrd geteah	*Antiquum ensem accingebatur*
Ðæt wæs mid eldum	*Qui erat a senioribus*
Ean mundeslaf	*Unicum præsidium*
Suna Ohðeres.	*Filio Ohtheri.*
* * * *	* * * *

Ða wæs forma siðð	*Id erat primum tempus*
Geongan cempan	*Juveni heroi*
Ðæt he guðe-ræs	*Quo belli impetum*
Mid his freo-dryhtne	*Cum domino suo*
Fremman sceolde.	*Tentaret.*
Ne gemealt him	*Non defecit ei*
Se mod sefa,	*Animosum pectus,*
Ne his mægenes laf	*Neque vires*
Gewac æt wige.	*Defuerunt in pugnâ.*

[p. 71, l. 12.]

" Ic ðæt mæl geman	" *Ego illud tempus memini*
Ðær we medu ðegon,	*Quo nos hydromele fruebamur,*
Ðonne we geheton	*Tum pollicebamur*
Ussum hlaforde	*Domino nostro*
In biorsele,	*In cerevisii aulâ,*
Ðe us ðas beagas geaf,	*Quoniam nobis armillas dederat,*
Ðæt we him ða guðgetawa	*Quòd hoc ei bellico apparatu*
Gyldan woldan,	*Rependeremus,*
Gif him ðyslicu	*Siquando eum hujusmodi*
Ðearf gelumpe,	*Necessitas opprimeret,*
Helmas and heard sweord,	*Galeis et duro ense,*
Ðe he usic on herge geceas,	*Quoniam nos in bellum elegit,*
To ðyssum siðfæte	*In hanc expeditionem*
Sylfes willum."	*Proprio arbitrio."*

[p. 71, l. 20.]

Woð ða ðurh ðonne wæl-ræc,	*Perrupit tunc cædis nubem,*
Wig heafolan bær	*Bellicam galeam tulit*
Frean on fultum.	*Principi in auxilium.*
Fea worda cwæð.	*Paucis locutus est.*
" Leofa Beowulf,	" *Dilecte Beowulfe,*
Læst eall tela,	*Recordare omnia ritè,*

Swa ðu ón ȝeoȝuð feore	*Ut in juventute*
Geara ȝecwæde	*Olim spondebas*
Ðæt ðu ne alæte	*Te nunquam tardaturum*
Be ðe lifiȝendum	*Per vitæ curriculum*
Dom ȝedreosan.	*Ultionem exsequi.*
Scealt nu dædum rof	*Debes nunc gestis præclare*
Æðeliȝ anhydiȝ	*Princeps imperterrite*
Ealle mæȝene	*Totis viribus*
Feorh ealȝian,	*Animam defendere,*
Ic ðe full-æstu.	*Ego tibi devotus* (adsum?).

XXXVII. [p. 72, l. 8.]

Ða ȝen sylf cyniȝ	*Tunc iterum ipse rex*
Geweold his ȝewitte.	*Potens animi factus est.*
Wæl-seaxe ȝebread	*Bellicam seaxem extulit*
Biter and beadu-scearp,	*Acrem et in pugnâ acutam,*
Ðæt he on byrnan wæȝ.	*Quam propter loricam gessit.*
Forwrat Wedra helm	*Urgebat Æolicorum princeps*
Wyrm on middan,	*Serpentem in medio,*
Feond ȝefyldan	*Inimicum ut conficeret*
Ferh ellen wræc.	*Animi virtutem exercebat.*

[p. 72, l. 26.]

Ic ðas leode heold	*Ego hunc populum tenui*
Fiftiȝ wintra.	*Quinquaginta hiemes.*
Næs se folc-cyniȝ	*Non erat populi rex*
Ymbe sittendra	*E vicinis*
Æniȝ ðara	*Quisquam*
Ðe mec ȝuð-winum	*Qui me bellico impetu*
Gretan dorste,	*Salutare ausus sit,*
Eȝesan ðeon.	*Metu afficere.*
Ic on eardðe bad	*Ego in terrâ vixi*
Mæl ȝesceafta.	*Tempore præstituto.*

Heold min tela.	*Tenui meum ritè.*
Ne sohte searo niðas,	*Nec quæsivi lites injustas,*
Ne me swor fela	*Nec juravi sæpe*
Aða on unriht.	*Juramenta falsa.*
Ic ðæs ealles mæg	*Ego propter hæc omnia possum*
Feorh-bennum seoc	*Lethali vulnere æger*
Gefean habban.	*Gaudium habere.*
Forðam me witan ne ðearf	*Ideo mihi objicere nequit*
Waldend fira	*Creator hominum*
Morðor bealo maga,	*Homicidii noxam,*
Ðonne min sceaceð	*Quum mea separatur*
Lif of lice.	*Vita a corpore.*

XXXVIII. [p. 73, l. 12.]

Ða ic snude gefrægn	*Tum confestim rescivi*
Sunu Wihstanes,	*Filium Wihstani,*
Æfter word-cwyðum,	*Juxta mandatum,*
Wundum dryhtne	*Vulnerato domino*
Hyran heaðo siocum,	*Obtemperâsse graviter ægroto,*
Hringnet beran	*Annulatam loricam gestâsse*
Brogdne[1] beado særcean	*Formidabilem belli vestem*
Under beorges hrof.	*Intra arcis tectum.*
Geseah ða sige hreðig,	*Vidit tunc victoriæ compos,*
Ða he bi sesse geong,	*Ubi ad stationem devenit,*
Magoðegn modig	*Commilito animosus*
Maððum sigla	*Pretiosa signa*
Fealo gold glitnian	*Multa auro micare*
Grunde getenge,	*Humi jacentia,*
Wundur on wealle,	*Mirabilia ad murum,*
And ðær wyrmes den	*Et serpentis cubile*

[1] 'Brogdne.' I have construed this word as if derived from 'broga,' *terror.* It may possibly have some other signification, of which I am not aware.

Ealdes uht-flozan;	*Veteris aligeri;*
Orcas stondan,	Vidit *crateras stare,*
Fyrn-manna fatu,	*Priscorum hominum vasa,*
Feormend lease.	*Antiquas reliquias.*
Hyrstum behrorene	*Ornamentis privata*
Dær wæs helm moniz	*Ibi erat galea multa*
Eald and omiz,	*Vetus et rubiginosa,*
Earm-beaza fela	*Armillæ frequentes*
Searwum zesealed.	*Arte elaboratæ.*
Sinc eaðe mæz	*Thesaurus* iste *facile posset*
Gold on zrunde	*Divitias in terrâ*
Gumcynnes zehwone	*Generis cujuscunque*
Oferhyzian,	*Superare,*
Hyde se ðe wylle.	*Abscondat qui velit.*
Swylce hi sionnan zeseah	*Præterea mox vidit*
Sezn eall zylden	*Signa passim inaurata*
Heah ofer horde	*Altè super thesaurum*
Hond-wundra mæst	*Manu exsculpta miracula maxima*
Gelocen leoðo cræftum,	*Affixa magicis artibus,*
Of ðam leoman stod	*Ab eis lumen jactabatur*
Dæt he ðone zrund-wonz	*Ita ut omnem regionem*
Onzeatan mihte,	*Oculis usurpare liceret,*
Wræce ziond-wlitan.	*Ultionem* suam *contemplari.*

[p. 74, l. 4.]

"Gomel, on ziozoðe	"*Senex* hodie, olim *juvenis* cum essem
Gold sceawode;	*Aurum distribui;*
Ic ðara frætwa	*Ego propter hosce thesauros*
Frean ealles ðanc	*Moderatori omnium gratias*
Wuldur Cyninze	*Gloriæ Regi*
Wordum secze	*Verbis reddo*
Ecum Dryhtne,	*Æterno Domino,*

Ðe ic her onstarie,	*Quos* (thesauros *sc.*) *hic aspicio,*
Ðæs ðe ic moste	*Quòd potui*
Minum leodum	*Populo meo*
Ær swylt dæge	*Ante mortis diem*
Swylc gestrynan.	*Talia adipisci.*
Nu ic on maðma hord	*Nunc ego in gazophylacium*
Minne bebohte	*Spolia mea*
Frode feorh lege.	*Prudens animi reponam.*
Fremmað gena	*Explebunt postea*
Leoda ðearfe.	*Populi necessitatem.*
Ne mæg ic her leng wesan.	*Non ego hìc diu morabor.*
Hatað héaðo mære	*Jubete ut ingentem*
Hlæw gewyrcean	*Tumulum ædificent*
Beorhtne æfter bæle	*Lucidum post rogum*
Æt brimes nosan,	*Ad maris promontorium,*
Se scel to gemyndum	*Is in monumentum*
Minum leodum	*Populo meo*
Heah hlifian	*Altè se extollet*
On Hrones næsse.	*In Hronesnæsiâ.*
Ðæt hit sæliðend	*Ita ut eum navigatores*
Syððan hatan	*Exinde nominabant*
Biowulfes biorh,	*Beowulfi tumulum,*
Ða ðe Brentingas [1]	*Ubi Brentingi*
Ofer floda genipu	*Super fluctuum caliginem*
Feorran drifað."	*Longè impellunt."*
Dyde him of healse	*Detraxit collo*
Hring gyldenne	*Annulum aureum*
Ðioden ðrysðydig,	*Monarcha prudens,*
Ðegne gesealde	*Thano* suo *tradidit*
Geongum garwigan,	*Juveni bellatori,*

[1] Inhabitants of Brandey? 'Brondinga-land' is mentioned in the course of the poem, and 'Brondinges' in the Song of the Traveller. See p. 12.

Gold fahne helm	*Auro insignem galeam*
Beah and byrnan,	*Armillam ac loricam,*
Het hine brucan well.	*Jussit feliciter uti.*
" Ðu eart endelaf	" *Tu es ultimus*
Usses cynnes	*Nostri generis*
Wæg mundinga;	*Fluctûs potentium;*
Ealle wyrd forspeof	*Omnes fatum præripuit*
Mine magas	*Meos cognatos*
To metod-sceafte	*Ad Creatorem*
Eorlas on elne;	*Duces virtute* insignes;
Ic him æfter sceal."	*Ego post eos cogor."*

XL. [p. 75, l. 23.]

Heht ða ðæt heaðo weorc	*Jussit tunc grave illud negotium*
To hagan biodan	*In* [1] *domum deferri*
Up ofer ecgclif.	*Trans promontorii clivos.*
Ðær ðæt eorl weorod	*Ibi nobilis ille comitatus*
Morgen longne dæg	*Toto die antemeridiano*
Mod giomor sæt	*Mœstus animi sedebat*
Bord hæbbende.	*Clypeis instructus.*
[2] Bega on wenum	. . . *in exspectatione*
Ende dogores	*Finis diei*
And eftcymes	*Et reditus*
Leofes monnes.	*Amati viri.*
Lyt swigode	*Parum silebat*
Niwra spella	*Nova nuntia*

[1] or *urbem*, literally, *locum septum.*

[2] 'Bega.' I cannot satisfy myself as to the meaning of this word. Thorkelin connects it with the former line (which violates the metre and allitera-tion), and construes it *brachio.* Its usual meaning is a bow, a ring, or circlet, (any thing *bent*). Can it be used metaphorically (as *corona* in Latin) for an assembly or crowd? Lye gives 'Begæ,' from a Cambridge MS. of St. Matthew, *invenit.* This would also make sense of the passage.

Se ðe næs ȝerað,	*Is qui promontorium tenebat,*
Ac he soðlice	*At apertè*
Sæȝde ofer ealle:	*Dixit coram omnibus:*
" Nu is wilȝeofa	*" Nunc est munificus*
Wedra leoda	*Æolicæ gentis*
Dryhten Geata	*Reƈ Gothorum*
Deaðbedde fæst,	*Lecto mortis affixus,*
Wunað wæl-reste	*Jacet cæde sopitus*
Wyrmes dædum.	*Serpentis facinore.*
Hym on efn liȝeð	*Simul cum eo jacet*
Ealdor ȝewinna	*Antiquus hostis* (Draco)
Siex bennum seoc	*Seaxi vulnere confectus;*
Sweorde ne meahte	*Ensis non potuit*
On ðam aȝlæcean	*In eum infandum*
Æniȝe ðinȝa	*Ullo modo*
Wunde ȝewyrcean.	*Vulnus infligere.*
Wiȝlaf siteð	*Wiglafus sedet*
Ofer Beowulfe,	*Super Beowulfum,*
Byre Wiȝhstanes,	*Filius Wihstani,*
Eorl ofer oðrum	*Dux super alium*
Unlifiȝendum."	*Vitâ privatum."*

XLI. [p. 76, l. 19.]

" Me is ofost betost	*" Mihi videtur celerrimum optimum*
Ðæt we Ðeod-cyniȝ	*Ut nos populi regem*
Ðær sceawian	*Ibi intueamur*
And ðone ȝebriȝan	*Et tunc deducamus*
Ðe us beaȝas ȝeaf	*Qui nobis armillas dedit*
On að fære.	*In obsequium juramento confirmatum.*
* * * *	* * * *
Ac ðær is maðma hord,	*Et ibi est thesaurus,*

Gold unrime	*Aurum innumerabile*
Grimme [1] ȝecea . . . d	*Tetri* . . . . (Draconis)
And nu æt siðestan	*Et nunc sub fine*
Sylfes feore	*Vitæ suæ*
Beaȝas [2] . . . te.	*Armillas* . . . . .
Ða sceal brond fretan	*Nunc* eum *flamma devorabit*
Æled ðeccean.	*Ignis involvet.*
Nalles Eorl weȝan	*Neque Dux arma*
Muððum to ȝemyndum,	*Luctûs in memoriam,*
Ne mæȝð scyne	*Neque virgo formosa*
Habban on healse	*Gestabit in collo*
Hringȝ weorðunge;	*Monile pretiosum;*
Ac sceal ȝeomor mod	*Sed erit mœsta animi*
Golde bereafod;	*Aurum exuta;*
[3] Oft nalles æne	*Neque minus* (ritu lugentis)
[3] Elland tredan.	*Hospes incedet.*
Nu se herewisa	*Nunc bellator princeps*
Hleahtor aleȝde	*Lætitiam deposuit*
Gamen and ȝleodream.	*Hilaritatem et gaudium.*
[4] Forðon sceall ȝarwesan	*Ergo telum erit*
Moniȝ morȝen	*Multo mane*
Ceald mundum bewunden	*Frigidis manibus constrictum*
Hæfen on handa.	*Elevatum in dextrâ.*
Nalles hearpan sweȝ	*Neque citharæ vox*

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[1] Perhaps 'ȝecearfod,' *obtruncati.*

[2] Perhaps 'ȝifte,' *dedit.*

[3] I am by no means clear that I have given correctly even the general sense of this distich. Thorkelin's *Sæpe sola exul vagabitur* has, however, no intelligible reference to the context.

[4] These four lines are somewhat obscure, and I am by no means certain that I have rendered them correctly. Can they refer to the human or gladiatorial sacrifices which are thought by some to have accompanied the funeral rites of the pagan Northmen? See *Cluverii Germ. Ant.* lib. 1. c. 53. *Edda Sæm.* vol. 2. pag. 241 & 283.

Wiȝend weccean.	*Militem excitabit.*
Ac se wonna hrefn	*Sed ater corvus*
Fus ofer fæȝum	*Alacer super moribundos*
Fela reordian.	*Frequens obstrepet.*
Earne secȝan	*Aquila dicet*
Hu him æt æte speow	*Ut in convivio sibi cesserit*
Ðenden he wiꝺ wulf	*Ubi cum lupo*
Wæl reafode.	*Cædem depavit."*
* * * *	* * * *
Se wæs fiftiȝes	*Is* (Draco) *erat quinquaginta*
Fot ȝemearces	*Pedum mensurâ*
Longȝ on leȝere.	*Longus in cubili.*

XLIII. [p. 78, l. 15.]

Him ꝺa ȝeȝiredan	*Illi* (Beowulfo) *tunc erexerunt*
Geata leode	*Gothica gens*
Ad on eorꝺan	*Tumulum in terrâ*
Unwaclicne,	*Strenuè,*
Helm behonȝen,	*Galeam suspendebant,*
Hilde bordum,	*Bellicum clypeum,*
Beorhtum byrnum,	*Splendidam loricam,*
Swa he bena wæs.	*Uti jusserat.*
Aleȝdon ꝺa to middes	*Collocabant tunc in medio*
Mærne ꝺeoden,	*Magnum principem,*
Hæleꝺ hiofende	*Milites lugentes*
Hlaford leofne.	*Dominum dilectum.*
Onȝunnon ꝺa on beorȝe	*Inceperunt tunc in tumulo*
Bæl-fyra mæst	*Ignem rogi maximum*
Wiȝend weccan.	*Milites excitare.*
Wud wrec astah	*Ligni fumus ascendit*
Sweart [1] of swic ꝺole.	*Ater .....*

[1] 'of swic ꝺole.' Of these words I can make nothing intelligible; nor can I con-

* * * *	* * * *
Wind blond ȝelæȝ	*Ventus quiescebat*
Oð ðæt he ða baṇhus	*Donec osseam domum*
Gebrocen hæfde	*Disruperat*
Hat on hreðre.	*Calor in pectore.*
Hiȝum unrote	*Mente tristes*
Mod-ceare mændon	*Animo solliciti lugebant*
Mondryhtnes cwælm.	*Regis necem.*
Swylce ȝiomorȝyd	*Tanquam næniis*
.... at meowle	..... *mulier.*
* * * *	* * * *
Heofon rece sealȝ	*Altum ædificium*
Geweorhdon ða	*Exstruebant statim*
Wedra leode.	*Æolica gens.*
... seo on lide	... *illud ad mare*
Se wæs hea and brad,	*Erat altum ac latum,*
Eðlidendum	*Navigantibus*
Wide to syne.	*Latè videndum.*
And becn bredon	*Et ignem ampliabant*
On tyn daȝum,	*Per decem dies,*
Beadu rofis	*Jussu principis*
Becn brondà	*Ignem pyræ*
Be wealle beworhton.	*Ad murum erigebant.*
* * * *	* * * *
Swa beȝnornodon	*Ita lugebant*
Geata leode	*Gothica gens*

9

strue to my own satisfaction the two lines which follow them in the original,—they are therefore omitted. A trifling alteration would give 'Sweart of swiotole,' *Niger e claro* (*igne* sc.), which would be sufficiently in the character of Saxon phraseology. But we are as yet too scantily acquainted with the language, especially with its poetical forms, to venture unhesitatingly upon conjectural emendation. Were it allowable, I should be disposed to read in the next line 'brond' for 'blond,' and to render it *Ventus pyræ incubuit.*

Hlafordes . . . re . .	*Principis* (interitum?) . .
Heorð-ȝeneatas	*Familiares*
Cwæðon ðæt he wære	*Dicebant, quod erat*
Worold cyninȝnes	*E mundi regibus*
Mannum mildust,	*Hominibus mitissimus,*
And mond rærust,	*Et manu fortissimus,*
Leodum liðost,	*Populo facillimus,*
And leof ȝeornost.	*Et amoris cupidissimus.*

COLLATION

OF THE COPENHAGEN EDITION OF BEOWULF

WITH

THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT

PRESERVED IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.[1]

Page.	line.			
3	1	*for* Hwæt wegar	*read*	† Hwæt we Gar-Dena.
	15	weolcnum		wolcnum.
4	1	Goban		† Gomban.
	6	Ðonne		Ðone.
	10	. . . . .		. . ase.
	11	Longe		Lange.
	12	wæs		† ðæs.
	17	eafare		eafera.
	19	maðma		. . . . nna.
	21	fegiftum		feoh-giftum.
	22	ðina		† . . . rme.
5	4	gestæp		† gescæp.

[1] In this Collation, some few readings, in which Thorkelin has corrected the oversights of the original scribe, are omitted. Some variations, so trifling as not in any way to affect the sense (as Halfdene for Healfdene, Med for Mid, &c.), are unnoticed. Such readings as appear more materially to affect the sense, are distinguished by the mark †. Any attempt to restore the metre, and to correct the version throughout, would have exceeded the bounds, and involved much discussion foreign to the purpose of the present work. This must be left to the labours of the Saxon scholar. It is evident, however, that without a more correct text than that of Thorkelin, those labours must be hopeless. The wish of supplying that deficiency, may perhaps apologize for the occupying, by this Collation, so large a space of a work strictly dedicated to other purposes.

Page.	line.		
5	8	*for* waroðe *read*	faroðe.
	10	bad	bæd.
6	9	Na læs	Nalas.
	12	Ðonne	Ðon.
	13	Ða	Ðe.
	18	geðenne	.. enne . . . . . d.
	19	Hea — heofod	Heah — heafod.
	21	Geofon — garsæg	Geafon — garsecg.
7	6	Fædor	Fæder.
	8	aft.	eft.
	11	Gamul — gu̇ð reouw	† Gamo — Guðreow.
	15	wocon	wocun.
	16	Weorada	Weoroda.
	19	ðæt Elan	ƿ elan.
	20	Scyfingas	Scylfingas.
	23	Here sped gywen	† Here-sped gyfen.
	24	worðmynd	weorðmynd.
	25, 26	- - - -	ƿ him his wine-magas.
8	1	Oð ðe	Oðð ƿ . . . geweox.
	9	gefrimon	gefrunon.
	12	Geongom	Geongum.
	26	ðis	his.
9	2	Sint	† Sinc.
	7	længe	lenge.
	10, 11	— wælne / Ðe ——	10 — wæl-niðe.
	26	worh	we . .
	27	wong	wang.
10	1	gebugeð	bebugeð.
	2	hræðig	hreðig.
	19	Grændel	Grendel.
	20	Mære stapa	† Mære mearc-stapa.

Page.	line.			
10	25	*for* weardode	*read*	† weardode hwile.
11	1	— ȝewræcte		. . . ȝewræc
	2	Drihten		† Ece Drihten.
	9	uncydras		† Untydras.
	11	Eotnas		Eotenas.
	13	gigantas		gi . . . . s.
	17	Geweat		Gewat.
	24	gedricht		gedriht.
12	12	neosian		neosan.
	13	on uhtan		† onuhtan (*conspicuæ*).
	15	Grændles gud	15	† Grendles gud-cræft (*insidiæ*).
	16	Cræft		
	25	wæs		ðæs.
13	1	langsum		longsum.
	3	Fyrst ɑcymb		2 —— first 3 Ac ymb.
	11	eaðfynðe		eaðfyndc.
14	4	Siðra		Sidra.
	5	weard		wearð.
	19 to 23		20	† Ne ðær nænig witena Wenan ðorfte Beorhtre bote To banum folmum . . . . . Æglæca.
15	11	sele		selu.
	13	——gif	13	† gif-stol (*gratiæ sedem*).
	14	Stol —		
16	5	ðeoð		ðeod.
	7	Hedenra		Hæðenra.
	14	Godne hie huru		G . . . . ie huru . . . e.
	16	Hercan		Herian.
	18	Ða bid ðam		† Wa bið ðæm (*Væ illis*).

Page.	line.			
16	26	*for* seccian	*read*	secean.
17	3	sead		seaŏ (*coquebat*).
	7	langsum		longsum.
	13	miŏ		mid.
	14	dæŏa		dæda.
	16	strængest		strengest.
18	6	Ðeah		. . . h.
	7	—— forne		. . . . .
	13	mighte		mihte.
	16	wisaŏe		wisade.
	27	barm		bearm.
19	7	Fann heals		† Famig-heals.
	8	umb		ymb.
	9	Oŏeres		Oŏres.
	14	Brun clif		Brim (?)-clifu
	22	seldon		sældon.
20	12	Wie ȝeridan		† Wicȝe ridan.
	19	wereŏe		werde.
	25	And wearde		† Ægwearde. ([1] N.T.)
21	4	Lid hebbende		† Lind hæbbende.
	21	Las		Leas.
22	4	scyld esta		† Se yldesta.
23	4	ærenŏe		ærende.
24	12	scylŏwiga		scyldwiga.
25	9	Halge diged		Hal gediged.
	12	Seo modo		† Seomode (*manebat*).
	13	Siŏfædmed		Sidfæŏmed.
	15	scionum		† Scionon.
	19	Ferch		Ferh.

[1] I have added the letters (N.T.) to such errata as are noticed in Dr. Thorkelin's list. That list is, however, for the most part, more incorrect than even his text.

Page.	line.			
25	26	*for* væs	*read*	† wæs.
26	9	Gegnom		Gegnum.
	14	alwolda		alwalda.
27	4	geatawum		geatwum.
	20	magas		mecgas.
	22	fere ge ad		ferigeaƀ.
28	5	Ven		Wen.
	6	—— na		
	7	Læs —— wrec		7 Nalles —— wræc.
	25	swo		swa.
29	24	—— driht	24	† drihtne.
	25	Nu		
31	25	Ham		† Hat.
32	3	Wordin ne		† Wordinne. [1]
	13	meowrum		† in eowrum.
	21	wica		† rica.
34	13	yƀum		yƀum.
	14	mihtes		† nihtes.
	16	ƀrec		† wræc.
35	3	Feorme		† Freo-wine.
	13	geræccеƀ		† ne ræccеƀ.
	22	feaonde		feonde.
37	7	Geslog		Gesloh.
	19	fussum		† furƀum.
38	7	Eal ƀe		† Ealde.
	20	mæc		mæȝ.
	21	sæcadan		† sceadan.
39	4	tiƀ		tid.
	6	dag		dæg.

[1] I have preserved this reading of the MS., though probably corrupt. The distich which contains it has, in its present state, no alliteration. It is possible that two lines may have been omitted by the scribe.

Page.	line.		
39	13	*for* unto	*read* nu to.
	15	sægu	secgu.
	22	eadon	eodon.
	23	dealle	† dealde.
	24	behold	beheold.
	26	eolowæge	ealowæge.
40	2	hæledæ	hæleda.
	5	maleode	† maðelode. (N. T.)
	21	breccan	brecan.
41	3	mic	inc.
	16	night	niht.
	24	[1]Swæsne	† Swæsne ᛟ (*the Runic abbreviation for* eðel.)
42	6	Wyrs ange ðingia	† Wyrsan gethingia.
	19	Sæcdest	Sægdest.
43	8	wit	wið.
	9	Weorian	Werian.
44	6	teach	teah.
45	23	Niceras ni ge ne	† Nicras nigene, (*Monstra novem.*)
48	10	Gehynde	† Gehyrde.
	14	Heleahtan	† Hleahtor.
	15	Swysode	Swynsode.
49	11	hoe	hio.
	25	weal hreon	† Wealhðeow.
50	10	Feord	† Feond.
53	11	anhefe	† anhere.
	14	nelle	† hine.
	22	he ðe	ðe he.
54	4	Ða	Swa.

[1] There is evidently a word wanting here to fill up the metre, for which in the MS. there is a space of about three letters vacant, and the cypher.

Page.	line.			
54	10	*for* rine	*read*	† rinc.
	24	weofu		gewofu.
55	6	—— ride	6	† —— sideferth.
	7	Ferhð.		
56	6	ðæs he		ðæs ðe he
	23	folmum—*and lacuna of two verses.*		† folmum . . . man.
	24	Bræd ða bealo		Onbræd bealo.
	25	He		Ða he.
59	24	Ðidre		widre.
60	10	wen		ren.
	28	a mið		amid.
61	8	geneahte		geneáhhe.
	12	fealle		wealle.
	18	—— heond	19	heold.
	19	—— fæste		to fæste.
62	7	wolda		wolde.
	16	gehwones		gehwone.
	22	billanan		† billa nan.
63	12	selic homa		† se lichoma.
	22	dohd		dohl. (N. T.)
	23	Seo now		Seonowe.
65	14	Læðes		Lathes.
	26	bolde		blode.
66	2	gespring		geswing.
67	14	cyðe		cuðe.
	22	So ðe		Soðe.
68	11	wite la		† fitela.
69	4	wite la		fitela.
	15	ðonne		† dome.
70	4	forlaten		forlacen.
	23	Scyldinga		ᛟ (eðel). Scyldinga.
71	17	Med ostic gemæt		† Medo-stig gemæt.

Page.	line.			
71	18	*for* Mæg ðah ose	*read*	Mægða hose.
73	7	gebyrod		gebyrdo.
-	23	Dæðum		dædum.
74	6	Eaflod		Eafod.
	13	calmum		clammum.
75	3	—— swa		—— swaðeah.
	20	sprecce		spræce.
76	6	Him		Þ him.
	12	hatem		haten. (N. T.)
77	3	—— *Insert after* 3. † 4		Ealles unsund.
78	5	—— mag al		—— magas.
	11	facen		....
	26	Feohlsifte		Feohgifte. (N. T)
79	10	Wisum		Wirum.
	14	scewðan		sceð. an.
81	6	nerne		nefne.
82	20	Hoters		Hoces.
84	7	unwlitme		unflitme.
85	19	and		on.
	26	Hlaw ælan		Hafelan.
86	9	Nesian freondom		Neosian freondum.
	15	winnel		finnel.
89	9	eðrum		oðrum.
	15	tro vode		treowde.
90	5	ne		nu.
92	6	Wealh		Fealh.
93	26	Wind weard		Wind-geard.
94	9	hold		hol.
	28	he		hie.
95	22	manne dryht		mandryhtne.
96	16	wis		wif.
	21	gewearð		wearð.
97	7	Wæccendre		Wæccendne.

Page.	line.		
97	16	*for* A ðe	*read* Are.
	23	Detha	Deað.
98	15	geðywen	geðuren.
99	24	— inwit unne	in wicun.
	25	Wæs	Ne wæs.
	26	he	hie.
100	4	ðegum	ðegn.
	5	Lifigendne	† Unlifigendne.
	15	snoter abad	snotera bad.
	16	alwealda	alfwealda (MS. *perperàm*).
	22	seale	stale.
101	15	Haw elan ferodon	† Hafelan weredon.
	24	æsc	† æse.
102	18	sint	† sinc.
103	10	earni	† earm.
	11	weris	weres.
	16	nemdod	nemnod.
	21	Dyrna	Dyrnra.
104	20	Geflyme	Geflymed.
	21	Feor	Feorh.
105	2	lyst	† lyft.
	3	restað	† reotað.
	6	Earð git ne con	† Earðgitne const.
	15	Wundini goldi	Wundun gold[illegible].
106	3	gumean	gumena.
107	11	Sawel	Sawol.
	21	Niton hrisa	† Nicor-husa (*monstrorum habitacula*).
	22	— fea ras um	† feara sum (*quatuor aliquos*).
108	8	getholinne	getholianne.
	10	On tyð	† Oncyð (*ignotus*).
	13	Heawelan	† Hafelan.
	24	Cun man	Cunnian (?)

Page.	line.			
108	26	*for* Incras	*read* †	Niceras.
109	13	stæl		stræl.
	18	ofer		eofer.
110	1	Mearu		Mearn.
	17	wraðum	†	wrasnum.
111	23	Selfan.		Selran.
	24	nedor ste	†	ne dorste, (*non audebat*).
	27	Driht scyre	†	Driht-scype, (*Virtutem*).
112	12	No		Nu.
	14	gespræcon		geospræcon.
	19	stole		stæle.
114	12	ærm gestod		ær ingescod.
	13	Hal anlice		Halan . . . lice.
	27	specte		swecte.
115	16	wyr cenne		wyrgenne. (N.T.)
	23	Grædic		Grædig.
116	4	gescæw		gescær.
	5	Fæger		Fæges.
	26	mearu		mearn.
118	22	frea		freea (?)
120	6	Fyf cyne		Fyftyne.
	17	gestod		gescod.
121	13	adreoten		abreoten.
122	3	licost		gelicost.
	4	fortes		forstes.
	6	waras	†	rapas.
	15	Hawelan		Hafelan.
123	2	Acne		Eacne.
	16	— hyne		— hi hyne.
	18	on —— hrofan		of —— hroran.
	21	drusode		drusade.
125	1	wræðe	†	wræðlic.
126	2	Wingea		Winigea.

Page.	line.			
126	20	*for* ðinna sæga	*read*	ðinra secga.
127	11	heor		heort.
	13	Morðes		Morðres.
	19	stede nigge		† ste . . deniga.
128	15	Wreowen		Wreoðen.
	22	eald		eald. ᛟ (ethel) [1]
129	1	gewyldum		geðyldum.
	28	Eawedum		Eafedum
130	25	modge ðon.		mod-geðonc
133	4	selfe		selre.
	12	Eaflodes		Eafoðes.
	22	Beað		Deað.
	26	hic		hig.
134	20	gestarede		† starige.
135	8	Moðan		Niowan.
	14	metes		gemetes.
	22	beweocene		beweotene.
137	12	secȝan		secan.
139	5	guma		guman.
142	1	Aged		Agen (?)
	10	stod		scod.
143	25	Gecwæfde		Getwæfde.
	26	fanug		famig.
147	13	orra		† offa.
148	4	Sige		Sigel.
	9	ongen ðeoes		Ongenðeoes, (*Ongentheowi*).
149	1	Iððan		. . ððan, (q. if Syððan).
	6	hide		side.
	10	Hie		Hæ.

[1] The Editor is indebted to Mr. Price for pointing out the value of this Rune here and elsewhere occurring.

Page.	line.			
150	19	*for*	Fyra hwylce	*read* Fyra hwylce . .
	20		. . . . .	*lacuna nulla.*
153	19		grim . . . fa	grim sefa (?)
154	4		Dyre	Dyre iren.
	5	*after* Dene		*insert* Slogon weoldon Wælstowe syððan.
	17	*for* Mæle		Mæla.
	19		— ðæt	— ðæt sæl.
	26	*after* wigende		*lacuna nulla.*
	28	*for* —— oro cene		brocene (?)
155	18		hwam	hwan.
	26		Wæl	† Sæl.
	29		Feor	Feorh.
157	11		leosade	losade.
158	3		rechtlice	rehtlice.
	22		Mode	Niode (?)
159	28		hreo	hreoh.
	29		geðing	† geðring.
160	18		fæde	fæge. (N.T.)
161	4		On sylfes	On . . ne sylfes (myne?)
	10		Ic	Ðic (?)
	20		scealde	sealde. (N.T.)
	24		ærest	ærend (?)
163	6		. . . syððan	† Hyre syððan.
	7		ðego	ðege.
	8		Gebreost	Breost.
	22		Wean	† Hean.
164	13		sincmaðm ðum	† sincmaððum.
165	1		hlænnum	† hlammum.
	20		Oð ðæt ongan	Oððe . . on ongan
	23		— — on hea	—— on hea . l . ı . (hea clifu ?)
	24		. . . . .	
	25		Hord	Hord.—

Page.	line.		
166	1	*for* Thær on innan giong	*read* Thær on innan giong
	2	. . . . .	2 Niða nat . . . hæðnum.
	3	Niða nat	3 Horde hond . . . sinc fa.
	4	. . . hæthnum horde	
	5	Hond	
	6	Since fah	
	10	. . . . .	. . . . ð . . . ð
	12	sie	—— sie . ð . . .
	16	weoldum	geweoldum.
	18	—— . . rege	—— fære geceod (?)
	19	Sceod	
	24	. . . . .	. . . . . ðea . . .
	26	Weall	Wea . . secg syn . . sig.
167	2	Ðæt ðam	Ðæt . . . ðam.
	4	sceapen	sceapian (?)
	5	. . . . .	*Dele.*
	7	. . . . .	† Sinc æt . . . . . (symle?)
	11	——— gearda	——— geardagum.
	12	Gum	
	24	ðær	ðæs.
168	14	hi	hit.
	22	Dræmna hiwa	Dream . . ah hwa.
169	11	Æfter wigfruman	Æfter beor . in Ne mæg byrnan hring Æfter wigfruman.
	13	heals sines	† healf . . . næs.
	14	Hear wan	† Hearpan.
170	2	steaða seceð ...	Sceapa Opene standum Feðe byrnende Beorgas seceð.
	12	wihte	wihte d . . .

Page.	line.		
170	13	Hic lacuna incidit quæ *XV versibus* * respondent absentibus.	† * *Tribus litteris;* quod supra notavimus.
	22	—— fæged	† —— wæge.
171	7	—— geniwat	geniwad.
	8	Stond	Stone.
	22	—— on	† . . . . on swefod.
172	26	——— gifau	gifan. (N.T.)
174	2	——— him	† ——— ham.
	3	——— selst	selost.
175	6	—— ðend	—— . . . ðend.
176	19	. . . Geatwa	Geatwa.
	20	holme	20 ——— holme . . ig
	21	- - - - -	*Lacuna nulla.*
	24	Feðe	. . . feðe (?)
178	3	——— forht alden	——— forh ealden.
179	24	——— cwommað	——— cwom
	25	Ðum—	Maððum—
181	4	Sundr	Sundur.
	5	—— like	—— lice.
	6	No . . Ðon	Noðon.
	7	æðeliges	æðelinges.
182	5	——— bestręd	——— be . . stıed.
	6	——— heað cyn	† ——— Heaðcyn, (*nom. proprium*).
183	4	Fymble	Symble:
	20	—— hodmannis	† —— hodman
	21	Ðær	Nis ðær—— (*non est*).
184	2	——— wigstede	——— wicstede.
	6	Weal linde	† Weallende.
185	6	—— hreosna	—— Hreofna, (Rafnis ?)
	7	Atolne	Eato . . .

Page.	line.			
186	8	*for* Eðel earð	*read* Eard eðel.	
	12	—— to	—— in.	
	15	——— gecysan	——— gecyran.	
	21	—— wis	—— ðis.	
187	24	Utgereced	Utgeseceð.	
188	12	— hatres	— hattres.	
189	9	— scyre	— scype.	
190	1	Stod on	Stodan.	
	9	Ðeod	Deop	
	23	——— fricean	——— friclan.	
191	21	— gescire styndan	— gescipe scyndan.	
192	7	——— gewat	——— gewac.	
	9	Bac	Bat.	
193	6	—— len	—— læn.	
	9	He	Hwy—(?)	
194	3	——— waga	† ——— wiga.	
195	4	—— onlean	† —— onela.	
196	2	Gewat	† Gewac.	
	12	—— geton	† —— geheton.	
	22	The	The he.	
198	9	Urum sceal	† Sceal urum ƿ.	
199	7, 8	——— bord Wiðbyrne rond	† 8 Bord . . . rond byrne.	
	20	—— heawolan stoð	—— heafolan stod.	
200	18	Breran	† Biteran.	
	24	——— eorles	——— eorl.	
	26	—— and cendum	—— andcendu.	
201	3	Hea wolan „	† Heafolan.	
	8	Modor	Nioðor (?)	
	10	Ðæt	ƿ ƿ	
203	2	——— bleace	——— bleate	
	5	Gund drogen	† Gedrogen	
	6	——— wæs	——— ða wæs.	

Page.	line.		
204	17	*for* —— be areafod	*read*† —— bereafod.
	18	—— onof ostic	† —— on ofoste.
	23	—— fest	—— seft (?)
206	20	—— holdon	† —— hlodon.
207	4	—— forhogde	† —— for horde.
	5	—— weallande	—— weallende.
	8	—— onof ostic	† —— on ofoste.
208	7	—— swylc	† —— swylt.
	12	—— gene	—— gena.
	26	—— bremcingas	† —— Brentingas.
209	12	—— fyrd	—— wyrd.
	14	—— sceapte	—— sceafte.
	18	Ginfæste	† Gingæste.
210	15	—— sceawede	† —— scearede.
	16	Homena	Homera.
	21	—— lyfde	† —— lyfte.
	26	—— feoll	—— gefeoll.
211	12	Wæccende wearð	11 † wæccende 12 Weard onfunde 13 Buon on beorge 14 Biowulfes wearð 15 Dryht maðma dæl 16 Deaðe.
	13	Dryht maðma dælde	
	14	A ðe	
	24	— ða reðum	† — dareðum.
212	20	— gebete	† — begete.
213	2	— eow	† — eored.
214	14	Londdrihtes	† Londrihtes. (N.T.)
	24	— edwic	† — edwit.
215	10	Wiðer	† Niwra.
216	18	—— gehnægdum	† —— gehnægdon.
	26.	—— syððan	—— asyððan.
217	7.	—— hreðlic	† Hreðling (*Hretlis filius*).
218	10	— ȝealc	— galg.

Page.	line.			
218	12	*for* Freofor	*read*	Frofor.
220	8	Swa		† Swat. (N.T.)
	27	Hares hyrste		† *Versus aliunde illatus* (*v. pag.* 221, *l.* 24) *deest in MS°.*
221	24	Harres		Hares.
	26	. . . . .		† *Lacuna prorsus nulla.*
	27	. . . .		He . .
222	1	Leana leodum		† Leana . . . . leodum.
	11	—— locendra		—— locenra.
	16	—— geflugon		† —— geslogon.
	24	——— hawo		——— hafo.
	28			Frean.
223	7	Folced		† Folcred.
	10	——— ofost		† ——— ofost betost.
	20	——— gecea		—— gecea . . . d (gecearfod ?).
	21	. . . . .		† *Lacuna nulla.*
224	7	Ealland		Elland.
	19	—— reowdian		† —— reordian.
	22	—— heriδ		† —— he wiδ.
225	1	Weord		Weorod. (N.T.)
	20	—— laδ		—— laδne . .
227	24	Diore		† Diope.
229	12	——— mit		——— mid . . ge.
	15	. . . .		. ut .
	16	Minum		† Cyning minum.
	18	. . . . .		† *Lacuna nulla.*
	19	and		Is and.
230	3	—— felan		† —— welan.
	10	—— geonge		† —— genoge.
231	16	—— torne		—— corthre (?)
232	4	Læfe		Læne.
	20	—— gegredan		—— gegiredan. (N.T.)
	25	——— bröndum		† ——— bordum.

Page.	line.		
233	7	*for* Bæt	*read* † Bæl.
	11	Swongende	Swogende.
	13	— brond	— blond.
	20	—— giomorgyd	20 giomorgyd
	21	..... under	†.... at meowle .... under
	23	Secg	Serg.
	24	..... neah	24† Neahlæs ðæt hio hyre
	25	Ðæt hio hyre	25 ..... gas.
	26	.....	
	27	..... gas	
	28	—— wa ...	—— wæl.
234	1	... Ylla	Ylla.
	2	——— hafda	——— h . . a . d.
	6	.....	6 † . . seo onlide.
	7	.....	
	17	.....	† *Lacuna iterum nulla.*
	18	Snotre	F . . . Snotre.
235	3	——— lifaŏ	——— lifaŏ . .
	4	.....	† *Lacuna nulla.*
	5	——— hi	——— hi . . .
	6	.....	† *Lacuna nulla.*
	7	—— hlef	—— hlæf.
	9	Ætheling	Ætheling .....
	10	.....	† *Lacuna nulla.*
	12	.....	† *Lacuna nulla.*
	13	.....	. . . *Lacuna tribus tantum literis respondens.*
	19	.....	*Lacuna nulla.*
	21	——— gen	21 ——— gen . . biŏ.
	22	. . . . biŏ	
236	2	—— lac haman	† —— lichaman.
	6	———	——— . . . re.
	9	——— cyning	——— cyningnes.

Page.	line.		
236	10	*for* Monne	*read* Mannum.
	13	—— leof	—— lof. [1]

[1] The Saxon scholar, especially if he refer to the original MS., will, I fear, discover that the present Collation needs in many places both additions and corrections. It will however, I trust, afford a text sufficiently faithful for every essential purpose. Much must still be left to his own conjectural skill, particularly in the interpretation of those expressions which, though printed and indeed frequently written as separate words, are in fact compounds (as 'sigehreðig,' p. 10; 'on-uhtan,' 'gud-cræft,' p. 12. &c.). This circumstance has frequently escaped the notice of Thorkelin. It will be necessary also in many cases, even before an attempt is made to translate a passage, that it should be restored to its real metrical arrangement. This will require a proper attention to the alliteration, and an ear practised in the rhythm of Saxon verse. It is needless to point out the numberless instances in which Thorkelin has failed from inattention to the peculiarities of collocation, especially the Parallelism, as I have ventured to term it, by which the poetical diction of our ancestors was distinguished.

NOTES TO BEOWULF.

Page 35. *Warrior Danes.* The country of our hero affords additional grounds for ascribing the poem, in its present dress, to the Dano-Saxon period of our history; perhaps to one of the bards who are known to have graced the court, and shared the patronage of the munificent Canute. In earlier times, the exploits of a Danish chieftain would scarcely have been a popular subject. That the fiction however was, in its original form, of an antiquity considerably more remote, I am still disposed to believe; for the following among other reasons: 1. The poet displays a very intimate knowledge of the history of Jutland during its division into five principalities (Fif-el), that is, before the eighth century. 2. He refers to a northern superstition (see p. 55, and note) as old as the age of Tacitus. 3. If any weight be allowed to the arguments advanced in favour of the antiquity of "The Song of the Traveller," Hrothgar and Hrothwulf must have flourished before the middle of the fifth century; and without the intervention of poetical tradition (evidently the earliest species of northern history), it can hardly be supposed that their memory should have reached the era of Canute. It might be objected, that upon the hypothesis of Beowulf's having actually existed about the year 450, a very considerable length of time must have been required before his adventures would assume the fabulous character which they wear in the poem. That a period, however, far short of five or six centuries would be amply sufficient for this purpose, is proved by the analogy of numberless similar fictions; those, for instance, concerning Regner Lodbrog, and our own Richard the First. 4. The language of the poem, in its present dress, is nearly identical with that of the Exeter Manuscript (expressly stated in Bishop Leofric's deed of gift to be En-

glish). Yet its materials are evidently Danish. Can it be shown that the Danes and Anglo-Saxons of the tenth and eleventh century employed precisely the same dialect? (yet see the Essay on the Danish Tongue annexed to *Gunnlaug's Saga*). On these grounds I am inclined to attribute the *original* Beowulf to the eighth, if not the seventh century. After all, many may be rather disposed to regard the whole story as the mere creature of the Scald's imagination, and to doubt whether there be any tenable grounds for ascribing to it an antiquity higher than that of the only manuscript in which it is extant. It may here be mentioned, that after careful examination, I would refer that manuscript to the eleventh rather than, with Astle and Thorkelin, to the tenth century.

P. 35. *Scaldic literature.* It has been often remarked, that the traditional documents relating to the early history of Denmark are far less numerous than those which illustrate the neighbouring provinces of Sweden and Norway. The Tale of Beowulf evidently belongs to a class perfectly distinct from the mythical or mythico-historical cyclus of the Eddic muse. (See Preface to the 2nd vol. of Sæmund's *Edda*.)

Scefing. I have here ventured to deviate, perhaps rashly, from the version of Thorkelin. The original has 'Oft Scyld Scefing,' which he renders *Sæpe Scyldus Scefides.* A Scyld, however, or Skiold (see Saxo Grammaticus, p. 5), is so constantly placed at the head of the Danish genealogies, that I have considered the word 'Scyld' in this passage as equivalent to 'Scylding,' and 'Scefing,' as his descendant.

Beowulf. It should be noticed that this elder Beowulf appears to have no connection with the hero of the poem.

Scylfings. Skelfr (says the prose Edda) was the name of a war king (Herkonungr). His posterity are called Scylfings, and live on the shores of the Baltic. (Thorkelin, in Ind., who supposes them to be the Sueones of Tacitus.)

P. 36. *Heorot.* See a description and plate of one of these an-

cient mead-halls in *Gunnlaug's Saga*, p. 164. Thorkelin conjectures it to have occupied the site of the present Hioring in the district of Aarlborg.

Of him who first outspread. Thorkelin has noticed the similarity which the song of Iopas in Virgil (*Æn.* i. 740,) offers to that of the Danish bard, as a proof that the original author of Beowulf might have been a Pagan. The writer, however, or translator of the poem in its present form, was evidently a Christian, and probably omitted or modified many traces of heathen superstition. The coincidence, however, is very remarkable; unless we suppose the translator to have been acquainted with Roman literature, which is not very probable.

P. 37. *The Grendel.* The explanation given of this name by Thorkelin seems forced. He apprehends that the Saxon translator mistook the original Loki (the evil spirit of the Edda, from Loki, *ignis*) for Loka, *crates*, and rendered it therefore by Grendel (*crates, repagulum*, A.S., v. Lye, *in voce* Grendl). If etymology were a safe ground, I should be rather disposed to regard the word as signifying originally "the Captive or Prisoner," whence it might readily come to be used as a synonyme for the evil spirit, and transferred, as the term fiend and others, to all beings supposed to partake of his nature.

Helruna. From 'helan,' *celare* (whence Hell,) and 'runa,' *littera*, seems to afford the most plausible etymology of the celebrated Alrunæ. See Keysler 871, &c. and others. These powerful Runes are enumerated in the Brynhildar Quida (*Edda*, vol. 2. p. 195-6-7).

Iutes Ylfes and Orcneas. Eotenes, the Jotna of the Volu-spa, and the Ettins of our early romancers and ballad-writers (see Scott's *Sir Tristrem* 344, and Jamieson's *Sc. D. in voce* 'Eyttin'). I have translated Jutes and Geates, Goths, on the authority of Thorkelin. The Ylfes, our own Elves, are the Alfr of Eddic mythology—the remains also, in the opinion of the northern antiquaries (see Alfr in the Glossary to *Edda*, vol. 2), of some other aboriginal tribe. The Orcneas I do not recollect to have met with elsewhere under this

disreputable character. Can they be the early inhabitants of the Orkney Islands? Grendel evidently belongs to the same class of semi-mythological personages as the Polyphemus, and the Cacus and the Πιτυοκαμπτης (see Plutarch. in *V. Thes.*) of classical antiquity. In later ages, a Highlander, an American Indian, or even a runaway Negro, have assumed, in the eyes of their more civilized neighbours, the same aspect of terror and mystery.

P. 39. *Whence and what.* Compare Hom. *Odyss.* Γ. 71.

Ὦ ξεῖνοι, τίνες ἐστέ; πόθεν πλεῖθ' ὑγρὰ κέλευθα;
Ἦ τί κατὰ πρῆξιν, ἢ μαψιδίως ἀλάλησθε
Οἷά τε λῃστῆρες ὑπεὶρ ἅλα; τοί γ' ἀλόωνται
Ψυχὰς παρθέμενοι, κακὸν ἀλλοδαποῖσι φέροντες.

Soonest were best. Compare *Odyss.* Θ. 548.

Τῷ νῦν μηδὲ σὺ κεῖθε νοήμασι κερδαλέοισιν,
Ὅττι κέ σ' εἴρωμαι· φάσθαι δέ σε κάλλιόν ἐστιν.
Εἶπ' ὄνομ' ὅττι σε κεῖθι κάλεον μήτηρ τε πατήρ τε,
Ἄλλοι θ' οἳ κατὰ ἄστυ καὶ οἳ περιναιετάουσι.

Εἰπὲ δέ μοι γαῖάν τε τεὴν δῆμόν τε πόλιν τε·

P. 41. *Of the well hewn stone.* Thus Homer characterizes Athens as ευρυαγυια, and describes the Αγορη of the Phæacians as being

Ῥυτοῖσι λάεσσι κατωρυχέεσσ' ἀραρυῖα. *Od.* Z. 267.

P. 42. *Vendelic race.* This tribe occupied, in the reign of Charlemagne, the northern extremity of Jutland (see D'Anville's Map).

P. 43. *Homeric heroes.* Compare *Odyss.* I. 19.

Εἶμ' Ὀδυσεὺς Λαερτιάδης, ὃς πᾶσι δόλοισιν
Ἀνθρώποισι μέλω, καί μευ κλέος οὐρανὸν ἵκει.

P. 44. *Unsorrowing.* It is said by Pomp. Mela, that the Getæ rejoiced rather than mourned at the death of their friends (see

Keysler, 132). I have met with the expression of a similar feeling in some other Northern remains, but have lost the reference. It would be indeed a natural result of the belief that all who fell in battle were immediately received into Valhalla.

44. *By Weland's art.* Compare *Odyss. H.* 93. Of the traditions concerning Weland more will be said in a succeeding article.

P. 44. *Hunferth.* This mode of trying the courage and talent of a stranger seems to have been nôt uncommon in the ruder ages. The behaviour of the son of Alcinous to Ulysses (*Odyss. Θ.* 159,) is much in the same character. Thorkelin (Ind. v. 'Contentiones') refers to *Gunnlaug's Saga*, p. 71, and the note attached. Though Hunferth's own courage is stated to be problematical, he does not appear to have been regarded in the same contemptible light with the Homeric Thersites. Beowulf himself, as we shall see hereafter, presents him with a sword. Thus Sinfroth (see Handingsbana. *Edda*, vol. 2. p. 73,) is praised for a like talent.

Er svara kunni	*Is responsa callebat*
Or viδ auδlinga	*Et cum nobilibus*
Orδom scipta.	*Verborum altercationem.*

His *flyting* with Gudmund is a curious and much coarser specimen in its kind than that of Hunferth.

[*Additional Note by the Editor.*

P. 49. *The subject of his Song is little more than barely indicated.* A Danish critic, Mr. Grundtvig, has with much sagacity pointed out, in the song thus briefly recited, an allusion to the achievements of one of the principal heroes of the cycle of romance common to the *Edda* and *Volsunga Saga* of the North, and the *Nibelungen* of early German poetry. The story here recorded really relates to Sigmund Wælsing—the father of the Eddaic Sigurdr Volsungr—to whom, according to that version of the story, the

slaughter of the dragon ascribed by the Saxon poet to the parent is transferred. The corrupt text of Thorkelin, who reads (p. 68)

Đæt he framsige
Munde secgan,

instead of

Đæt he fram Sigemunde
Secgan hyrde—

at first concealed this allusion, and rendered the whole passage unintelligible. I refer to the equally amusing and learned Preface to the new edition of Warton's *History of English Poetry*, p. 94, for some further and interesting observations on this passage.

P. 50. *Frisians, a Finnish tribe.* Thus in The Song of the Traveller we have 'Finfolc Fresna cynne.' (p. 13. 1, 2.) It should however be stated, that the obscurity which pervades the whole of this episode is considerable; and that Thorkelin (perhaps with justice) considers the term 'Fin' as the proper, and not the generic name of the Frisian leader.

[*Addendum by the Editor.* Thorkelin is undoubtedly right in considering Fin as a proper name. The passage cited from The Song of the Traveller ought to be read 'Fin Folcwalding, Fresna cynne.' 'Fin, the son of Folcwald (who also is mentioned in Beowulf as 'Folcwalda'), ruled over the Frisian race.' The ingenious scholar who has conducted the new edition of Warton's *History of English Poetry* has satisfactorily proved the subject of this episode to be identical with that of the fragment on the battle of Finsburh (published in the Appendix to the present work). He remarks that in Beowulf the actors are Fin, Hnæf, Hengest, Guthlaf and Oslaf. In the fragment the same names occur, with the substitution of Ordlaf for Oslaf; the scene in either piece is Finnesham or Finnesburh, the residence of the before-mentioned Fin—who, as we have seen, is also mentioned in The Song of the

Traveller. He considers it probable that in these lines we have an allusion to the founder of the kingdom of Kent, and not to a purely fabulous personage of the same name; and he inquires whether Fin may have been a Celt, and whether the Gaelic antiquaries *can* connect him with any Erse sovereign bearing this name. But I must confess myself far from satisfied of an identity which seems to have nothing beyond a mere appellative, so likely from its derivation to have been common, to support it; nor can I concur in the challenge thrown out to Gaelic antiquaries, who assuredly *can connect* together many more persons and things than were ever so united in sober history.]

P. 51. *Hrothgar with Hrothulf.* See The Song of the Traveller, p. 14. l. 89.

P. 52. *The most splendid collar.* This is described as 'Brosinga mene' (q. d. a blazing or bright collar), the Eddic name for the necklace of Freya. If I understand the passage, the ornament in question is said to have belonged formerly to Hermanric—to have been given afterwards by Beowulf to Higelac, and worn by him for the last time when he fell in battle with the Frisians. It is described as set with precious stones (Eorclan-stanas).

P. 52. *Evil-minded woman.* The original expression is stronger and more remarkable, '*gallows-minded*' (ȝalȝa-mod).

P. 55. *Monsters of the Flood.* Orig. 'Niceras'—the Neckar and Nicker of later fabulists. (See Keysler, 261, and Jamieson's *Dict.* art. *Nicneven.*) Thorkelin regards them as sea-horses or *nags.*

55. *The savage boar's rude semblance.* Thus at p. 85, ed. Thork. in describing the army of the Scylding, the poet tells us

Wæs æð ȝesyne	*Erat facilis visu*
Swat-fah syrce,	*Sanguine madens lorica,*
Swin eal ȝylden	*Aper auro obductus*
Eofer iren heard.	*Super ferrum* (galeam) *durum.*

This appears to have been among the earliest superstitions of the Gothic tribes. "*Matrem Deûm venerantur; insigne superstitio-*

nis formas Aprorum gestant; Id pro armis omnique tuteta securum Deæ cultorem etiam inter hostes præstat." Tacit. *M. G. de Æstiis.* (See Keysler, 158-9, and the Glossary to Edda, vol. 1, under Hildisvini.) In the Saga of Hrolfe Kraka, the traitor Adils has an enchanted boar for his defence, and an amulet in the form of a ring named Soya-Gris (Sweden's Boar).

[*Here the copy transcribed by the late Author for the press terminated: but there were also extant some scattered references indicating the subjects which he had further intended to illustrate. These have been thrown together by the Editor into the following additional notes.*]

P. 56. *His good sword Hrunting.* We may compare with this description that preserved by Snorro of the sword presented to the young Haco by king Athelstan (*Harald Harfagers Saga,* c. 43). It had a handle of gold, and an edge so keenly tempered that it could cleave a millstone with ease; whence it was named 'Quern biter.'

P. 57. *A wondrous brand.* The well-known Tyrfing, reclaimed by the adventurous Hervor from her father's sepulchre, was a weapon resembling this in its history and properties. See *Hervarar Saga.*

P. 62. *Gold-enwreathed prow.* One of the most remarkable vessels of Northern romance was that bestowed by the enchantress Brana (whose story resembles that of Medea) on Halfdan. (See *Halfdans Saga,* c. 12, in *Nordiska Kiampa Dater.*) "Then," said Brana, "that ship will I give thee, Halfdan. I have spent the winter in its construction—it shall convey thee with a favourable breeze wherever thou wouldest sail—it is a dragon-shaped bark, and shall be called Skranti."

P. 65. *The fire-drake came.* This race of reptiles, formed doubtless by a poetical exaggeration of the real attributes of the

larger serpents inhabiting southern Asia (the cradle at once of the original colonists of Europe and of the original materials of those fictions which subsequent ages have but re-produced under varied combinations), has ever constituted a prominent feature in romantic narrative. The names by which it is described in the present poem are 'Wyrm' and 'Draca,' with the compounds 'Fir-draca' (the fire-drake), 'Eorth-draca' (the earth-drake), 'Eorth-scrafa' (the digger of the earth); and the epithets derived from its imputed habits, 'hordes weard' (the guardian of the treasure), and 'beorges weard' (the guardian of the mountain). Names evidently derived from the same roots are found in all the Teutonic dialects, and indeed in most of that larger group of cognate languages which has been denominated Indo-European. Thus we have the Icelandic 'Ormr' and 'Dreka,' the German 'Wurm' and 'Drach,' the Latin 'Vermis' and 'Draco,' the Greek 'δρακων,' the Celtic 'Draig'—and the Persian 'Kirim.' Nor were the names alone of these monsters identical. The fictions of classical and Gothic antiquity agree equally in their general attributes, and particularly in that (more remarkable, perhaps, because underived from any natural reference to their actually existing prototypes) which assigns to them the custody of hidden treasures. This is obvious in the dragon-guardians of the golden fleece, and of the fruit of the Hesperidæ. Indeed, the idea was proverbially familiar; thus Martial (lib. 12. Ep. 45.) reproaches a miser in the following terms,

Incubasque gazæ
Ut magnus draco quem canunt poetæ
Custodem Scythici fuisse luci.

And Phædrus puts a similar application (lib. 4. Fab. 19.) into the mouth of the fox, who, in digging its earth,

Pervenit ad draconis speluncam ultimam,
Custodiebat qui thesauros abditos.

The griffons watching the gold ravished from them by the Arimaspi

is a tale of the same class. In the romantic fictions of Persia combats between heroes and dragons often occur. In the wars of that nation with the Roman empire we read of the 'Persici dracones' among its military standards: hence in the lower ages of the empire they were adopted by the Romans themselves, and thus probably introduced among the Britons, whose Pendragon is said to have derived his title from their use.

Belzoni found a similar tradition, of a serpent watching over an hoarded treasure, prevalent near the cataracts of the Nile at Assouan.

But it is in the school of Northern fiction that these traits are most prominently developed, and in this quarter Saxo Grammaticus (lib. 2) has especially localized it.

Insula nonlonge est præmollibus edita clivis
Collibus æra tegens et opimæ conscia prædæ;
Hic tenet eximium, montis possessor, acervum
Implicitus gyris Serpens, crebrisque reflexus
Orbibus et caudæ sinuosa volumina ducens,
Multiplicesque agitans spiras virusque profundens.

The story of the slaughter of one of these animals (or rather of Fafner transformed into that shape) by Sigmund the Wælsing, has been already mentioned as the subject of the song introduced by the Scop in Canto XIV. of this poem. This adventure, as transferred to his descendant Sigurdr Vǫlsungr, constitutes the foundation of the principal cyclus of romantic story contained in the Edda. In the Sigurdar Quida will be found a description of the conflict of the hero and the monster—of his den and of its treasures,—among which were the helm of terror (Ægishialmr)—resembling in the panic it struck into adversaries, no less than in name, the classical ægis,—a golden cuirass, and the sword Hrotta.

There is a considerable similarity, in the close of the career of Beowulf by the agency of one of these monsters, to the death of the Emperor Otnit, as recorded in the German *Heldenbuch*, who in

like manner, after a long course of heroical achievements, was induced, by the dreadful ravages committed upon his subjects by a brood of dragons, to reassume his arms (notwithstanding the earnest remonstrances of his friends) in a war of extermination against them. He succeeded in his object, but sacrificed his own life to its accomplishment.

P. 74. The mariners
That drive afar to sea, oft as they pass
Still point to Beowulf's tomb.

Compare *Iliad* H. 86.

Σῆμά τέ οἱ χεύσωσιν ἐπὶ πλατεῖ Ἑλλησπόντῳ.
Καί ποτέ τις εἴπῃσι καὶ ὀψιγόνων ἀνθρώπων,
Νηΐ πολυκλήϊδι πλέων ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόντον·
Ἀνδρὸς μὲν τόδε Σῆμα πάλαι κατατεθνηῶτος.

And *Odyssey* Ω. 80.

Μέγαν καὶ ἀμύμονα τύμβον
Χεύαμεν Ἀργείων ἱερὸς τρατὸς Αἰχμητάων
Ἀκτῇ ἐπὶ προυχούσῃ ἐπὶ πλατεῖ Ἑλλησπόντῳ,
Ὅς κεν τηλεφανὴς ἐκ ποντόφιν ανδράσιν εἴῃ.

P. 78. *Having dispatched some of the party to obtain from far the wood necessary for the funeral pile.* Thus Homer *Iliad* Ψ. 110.

ἀτὰρ κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων
Οὐρῆας τ' ὤτρυνε καὶ ἀνέρας, ἀξέμεν ὕλην,
Πάντοθεν —— κ.τ.λ.

The whole subsequent narrative of the obsequies of Beowulf, and especially the description of the construction of his tumulus, will remind the classical reader of the similar rites as paid to Patroclus, *Il.* Ψ; to Hector, *Il.* Ω; and to Achilles, *Odyssey* Ω.

Indeed, in no part of their customs is that family resemblance which pervades almost all the European tribes, and connects them with those of India, more decidedly marked than in those which relate to the last honours paid by surviving piety to the dead. The Στηλαι of Greece, and the monumental stones of Scandinavia (see Keysler),—alike illustrate the conspicuous tower reared over the remains of the hero of the present poem: and we find the practice of committing arms and treasures to the same tomb with their transitory possessor (here instanced in the burial of a portion of the dragon's hoard) equally prevalent in Hellas (see the account of Periander the Corinthian, Herodot. *Terpsichore* 92), in Scythia (Herodot. *Melpomene* 71), in Gaul (Cæsar *B. G.* 6. 19), and in most of the ancient European tribes. (See also for many similar examples in the North, the History of Snorro Sturleson.) Indeed, the community of feeling on this point extended so far, that we find the sacrifice of widows on the funeral piles of their husbands recommended in Scandinavia no less than in India. Thus in the Eddaic narratives of the Volsungr heroes, Brynhillda is recorded as so devoting herself to the manes of Sigurdr. Bartholinus l. 2. c. 10 & 13, may be consulted on these subjects.

The practice of burning the dead appears to have continued among the Gothic tribes until their conversion to Christianity. It it expressly forbidden to the continental Saxons by an ordinance of Charlemagne yet extant.

END OF THE NOTES TO BEOWULF.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

WHILE the preceding pages were passing through the press, the hand of death imposed an abrupt termination at once on these literary relaxations of an active leisure, and on those pursuits of higher moment and graver character which occupied, as they demanded, the more serious attention of the Author. Had the design of the present work been completed, according to his original intention, a valuable manual of the poetry of the mother dialect of the English language would have been added to the stock of our literature, and a greater degree of attention than it has yet excited might have been called forth towards a subject claiming, at least, no mean degree of philological interest, and recommended to the student of this country by those associations which bind nations, no less than individuals, to their ancestry. For the execution of the remaining portions of these "Illustrations," the materials collected were large and original, consisting more especially of transcripts from the MS. volume of Saxon Poems bequeathed by Bishop Leofric to his cathedral church of Exeter; but these were for the most part unaccompanied by translation or comment, and formed in their actual state only the rough MSS., from whence characteristic specimens would have been by a subsequent examination selected. Had the individual, upon whom the melancholy but yet gratifying task of editing these remains has devolved, been more highly qualified than he could feel himself to be for such a task, he would yet have declined an undertaking which must have issued in the compilation of a new work of his own, and deprived, in some measure, the pre-

sent volume of its most appropriate character, as a simple memorial of its accomplished author. He has therefore considered himself as precluded from any attempt to complete the whole design, and restricted to the object of arranging such of its scattered fragments as were extant, in a state sufficiently prepared for immediate publication. Of these many have already been printed in the volumes of the *Archæologia* as communications to the Antiquarian Society. But it seemed desirable to collect these separate papers together, and thus to present a connected view of the contributions made to this single branch of literature by a departed scholar, remarkable for the extent and variety of attainments, which at the very period when they might have promised to be most productive, were suddenly arrested in their course; and yet more happily remarkable for the due subordination of them all to objects and pursuits which alone could not be thus interrupted.

In arranging these fragments it is the desire of the Editor to preserve, as far as possible, the composition of the Author without alteration or addition. They will, however, be disposed under the heads which they would have naturally occupied in the development of the original design; and such brief introductory notices will be prefixed, as may show the relative bearing of each, and exhibit a general outline of that design, accompanied by specimens of the several parts. In this form, the *utility* of the work, as a guide to the study of Saxon poetry, will, in a considerable degree, remain; although the higher interest, which the taste of the author, could it have been exerted in the full illustration of the subjects thus nakedly indicated, was so well calculated to impart to them, is indeed irremediably lost.

No. I.

THE BATTLE OF FINSBOROUGH.

A FRAGMENT.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE BY THE EDITOR.

THIS fragment claims the next place to Beowulf, not only as having constituted a portion of a similar historical romance, but because the very action to which it relates forms the subject of one of the songs introduced by the minstrel of Hrothgar in that poem. (See the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th Canto, and the Notes.) The history to which it refers appears to be (so far as it can be collected from these sources, which are not without considerable obscurity) that of a war between the Danish Scyldings then subject to Healfdane, and led by his thane Hengest, and the Frisian Eotens or Jutes, whose king Fin the son of Folcwald is besieged in his royal city, called from himself Finsham or Finsburh.

In the poem of Beowulf the minstrel commences his song on this subject by describing the grief of Hildeburh, who seems to have been the queen of Fin, and whose son Hnæf had been slain in a battle issuing in the defeat of her husband, and followed by an inglorious treaty, in which he was obliged to surrender half his dominions, and pay ample tribute. The queen obtains leave to celebrate the obsequies of her son; and according to the custom of the age commits his body to the flames. It should further appear that the terms of this treaty were violated by Fin; for we find that

after the interval of a winter, when the sea was again fit for navigation, Hengest undertook a second expedition against the city of Fin, who fell in its defence, his queen being led captive to Denmark in the victor's train.

The present Fragment appears to relate to the event of this second expedition, and describes the final attack of Finsburh, after a defence protracted through five days.

It was discovered by the celebrated Hickes, on a single leaf bound up with a MS. volume of Homilies preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library of Lambeth, whence he transcribed and published it in the first volume of his *Thes. Ling. Septentr.* p. 192, without a translation.

It was republished in the present form, with a literal Latin and metrical English version, as a communication from the author of these Illustrations to the *Bibliographia Britannica.*

At that time, however, the author had enjoyed no opportunity of consulting the parallel narrative recorded in the poem of Beowulf; and the imperfection and consequent obscurity of the fragment itself, in its unillustrated state, led him erroneously to consider Hengest as a Saxon chieftain, and the wounded leader mentioned in the concluding lines as having been the general of the invaders; whereas it seems almost certain that Fin himself, the king of the besieged city, must be the party meant. The editor has therefore been induced to make the few substitutions pointed out in the notes; and in one or two other lines has altered "our chief" to "the chief," with the same view.

If the editor is not deceived, the fragment in the Exeter MS. describing a ruined city once the abode of the Eotens, entirely desolated by war and fire, probably relates to the same destruction of Finsburh. This fragment is included among the specimens extracted from the MS. in question in a subsequent article of this Appendix.

In the present fragment (according to the translator's conception of its meaning) the commander of the besieging army is represented

as addressing and receiving an answer from the leader stationed at the principal gate of the fortification, in a manner which may faintly remind the reader of some of the dialogues which Homer has occasionally put into the mouths of his contending heroes.

* * * *	* * * * *
- - - - nas byrnaþ	- - - - *accendit*
Næfre hleoþrode	*Nunquam clamavit*
Ða hearo ȝeonȝ cyninȝ.	*Exercitus juvenis rex.*
[1] Ne ðis ne daȝaþ eastun,	*Neque elucescit (dies) ab oriente,*
[2] Ne herdraca ne fleoȝeþ,	*Nec belli draco volat,*
Ne her [3] ðisse healle,	*Nec exercitus aulæ,*
Hornas ne byrnaþ.	*Pinnacula accendit.*
Ac her forþberaþ,	*Sed exercitus egreditur,*
Fuȝelas siȝaþ,	*Volucres cantant,*
Gylleþ ȝræȝhama,	*Strepit cicada,*
Guþ-wudu hlynneþ,	*Belli trabs resonat,*
Scyld scefte [4] oncwyþ.	*Clypeo cuspis alliditur.*
Nu scyneþ þes mona	*Nunc fulget luna*
Waþol under wolcnum.	*Errans sub nubibus.*
Nu arisaþ wea-dæda,	*Nunc surgunt doloris acta,*

[1] The exact meaning of the whole of this first clause is somewhat obscure. Its general purport, however, appears to be either that no warlike demonstrations were made during the daytime, or that the army, while preparing for and marching to its nocturnal attack (the sun not having yet appeared in the east), proceeded at first silently and without violence.

[2] The metaphor, by which the arrow is described in this line, may remind the classical reader of a similar expression in the splendid passage which Æschylus has put into the mouth of Apollo in his *Eumenides*: l. 176.

"Μὴ καὶ λαβοῦσα πτηνὸν ἀργηστὴν ὄφιν."

[3] In this and in all other places where the article does not appear to be properly *demonstrative*, I have omitted to translate it.

[4] This word I apprehend to be compounded of 'on,' *super*, and 'cwedan,' *dicere, sonare*. It will then mean *sounds upon*.

Đe ðisne folces nið	*Quæ hujus populi inimicitia*
Fremman willað.	*Perficere debet.*
Ac onwacnigeað nu	*Sed expergiscitur nunc*
Wigend mine.	*Bellator meus.*
Habbað eowre landa,	*Habet vestram terram,*
Hie geað on ellen,	*Altè graditur in virtute,*
Windað on orde,	*Versatur in principatu,*
Wesað on mode.	*Sapiens est in consilio.*
Đa arras mænig	*Tunc surgebat plurimus*
Goldhladen ðegn;	*Auro ornatus ductor;*
Gyrde hine his swurde.	*Accinxit sibi gladium.*
Đã to dura eodon	*Tunc ad fores ibant*
Drihtlice cempan	*Nobiles bellatores*
Sigeferð and Eaha,	*Sigeferth et Eaha,*
Hyra sword getugon,	*Sibi gladium accinxerunt,*
And æt oðrum durum	*Et ad alias portas*
Ordlaf and Guðlaf,	*Ordlaf et Guthlaf,*
And Hengest sylfe	*Et Hengist ipse*
Hwearf him on laste.	*Ferebat se gressu.*
Đa gyt Garulf	*Tunc etiam Garulfus*
Guðere styrode,	*Gutherum excitabat,*
Đæt he swa freolic feorh	(*Ita*) *ut ille adeo promptus iret*
Forman siðe	*Primo tempore* (*vel* primo in loco)
To ðære healle durum.	*Ad aulæ portas.*
Hyrsta ne bæran.	*Ornamenta non gerebant.*
[1] Nu hyt niða heard	*Nunc* (*dicere*) *hoc prælium grave*
Any man wolde.	*Quispiam vellet.*
Ac he frægn ofer eal	*Sed ille rogàbat super omnes*
Undearninga	*Elatâ voce* (palam)

[1] I have ventured to supply the word *dicere* in the Latin, and to give the passage a turn somewhat different in the English translation. Possibly I may have been mistaken in both.

[1] Deormod hæleð,	*Amatus* (carus animi) *dux*
Hwa ða duru heolde.	*Quis portam teneret.*
"Sigeferð is min nama," cweð he;	"*Sigeferth est mihi nomen*," *inquit:*
"Ic eom [2] Secgena leod	"*Ego sum Saxonici populi*
[3] Wrecten wide cuð.	*Defensor latè notus.*
Fæla ic weuna gebad	*Multos ego labores pertuli*
Heordra hilda.	*Difficilium prœliorum.*
[4] Ðe is gyt herwitod.	*Hoc, est adhuc exercitui notum.*
Swæðer ðu sylf to me	*Tune ipse me*
[5] Secean wylle?"	*Quærere cupis?*"
Ða wæs on healle	*Tunc fuit in aulâ*
Wæl-slihta gehlyn,	*Bellicæ stragis tumultus,*
Sceolde-celæs-borð	*Clypei concavi lignum*
Genumon handa,	*Arripiebant manibus,*
Banhelm berstan,	*Ossa cranii* (galeæ) *findebant,*
Buruhðelu dynede.	*Arcis tecta resonabant.*
Oð æt ðære guðe	*Donec in bello*
Garulf gecrang,	*Garulfus occidit,*
Ealra ærest	*Omnium excellentissimus*
Eorðbuendra,	*Terram incolentium,*

[1] I have both here and in the English considered the word 'Deormod' merely as an epithet. It may, however, be a proper name.

[2] 'Secgena leod' will hardly bear the interpretation of the text: it should rather be translated 'of the host of the soldiers.' There seems to be no authority for connecting the Saxons with the subject of this poem; the tribes concerned were, as we learn from Beowulf, on one side Danish Scyldings, on the other Frisian Jutes.—Ed.

[3] This word does not occur in Lye's Dictionary. It probably signifies *champion*, from 'wrecan,' *exercere, defendere*.—'Weuna,' in the next line, is in the same predicament. I have supposed it to be derived from the same root with 'winnan' and 'wonian,' *laborare, deficere*.

'Weuna' is probably an error for 'weana,' *afflictions*.—Ed.

[4] I am by no means certain that my translation of this line is correct.

[5] The word 'secean' here is somewhat ambiguous; it may signify either *to attack*, or *to yield to*.

Guðlafes sunu.	*Guthlafi filius.*
Ymbe hyne godra fæla	*Circa illum fortes multi*
Hwearflacra hrǣr[1].	*Caducī moriebantur.*
Hræfen wandrode	*Corvus vagabatur*
Sweart and sealo brun.	*Niger et salicis instar fuscus.*
Swurd leoma stod,	*Gladii coruscatio constitit*
Swylce eal Finnsburuh	*Tanquam omnis Finsburga*
Fyrenu wære.	*Accensa esset.*
Ne ȝefræȝn ic	*Non audivi ego*
Næfre wurðlicor	*Unquam spectabiliorem*
Æt wera hilde.	*In bello pugnam.*
Sixtiȝ siȝebeorna	*Sexaginta victoriæ filii*
Sel [2]ȝebærānn,	*Pro aulâ stabant,*
Ne nefre swa noc hwitne medo	*Nunquam adeo ullâ ex parte medi*
Sel forȝyldan.	*Aulam (ut) traderent.*
Ðonne [3]hnæfe ȝuldan,	*Tunc juvenes auro ornati,*
His hæȝstealdas,	*Ejus (scil. Hengisti) primarii,*
Hiȝ fuhton fif daȝas,	*Pugnabant quinque dies,*
Swa hyra nan ne feol	*Ita ut eorum nemo caderet*
Drihtȝesiða.	*Principis-sociorum.*
Ac hiȝ ða duru heoldon.	*Sed illi adhuc portam tenebant.*
Ða ȝewat him [4]wund hæleð	*Tunc accingebat se vulneratus dux*
On wæȝ ȝanȝan;	*In fugam* (viam) *recipere;*

[1] The grammatical construction of these lines requires that 'hrǣr' should be considered as a substantive governing the preceding genitives. It is probably an error of transcription for 'hræw,' which will make the sense, 'around him was the corpse of many a brave fallen warrior.'—ED.

[2] From 'ȝebeorȝan,' *servare.* I am uncertain as to the exact construction, though not as to the general purport, of the next line.

[3] 'Hnæf' appears from Beowulf to be the proper name of the son of Hildeburh slain in the first battle there recorded. I cannot, however, substitute a version satisfactory to myself for that in the text.—ED.

[4] This is given by Lye as the participle of 'wundan,' *to wound.* It appears rather to be the participle of 'wunian,' *languore affici,* from which the secondary verb 'wundan' is derived.

Sæde ðæt his byrne	*Dixit quod ejus lorica*
Abrocen wære	*Fracta erat*
[1]Here sceorpum hror,	*Exercitus acutis (telis) caduca*
And eac wæs his helm ðyrl.	*Et etiam erat ejus galea penetrata.*
Ða hine sona frægn,	*Tunc illi citò quærebant*
Folces hyrde	*Populi pastorem*
Hu ða wigend hyra	*Quomodo tunc ducem suum*
Wunda genæson.	*Vulneribus levarent.*
Oððe hwæðer ðæra hyssa	*Aut ubi sua - - -*
* * * *	* * * *

THE FIGHT OF FINSBURG.

THE sun had climb'd the eastern sky;—
But not by day the youthful band
May hear their leader's battle cry,
Nor yet, on Finsburg's fatal strand,
The warrior's winged serpent fly:
Pauses from blood the foeman's hand,
Nor strives he yet to fire yon hall's proud canopy.

Sweetly sung the birds of night,
The wakeful cricket chirrup'd loud,
And now the moon, serenely bright,
Was seen beneath the wandering cloud.
Then roused him swift the deadly foe,
To deeds of slaughter and of woe.

[1] The construction of this line is somewhat obscure.

Now beneath the javelin's stroke
The buckler's massy circle rung.
Anon the chains of slumber broke
That chieftain great and good,
He whose high praise fills every tongue,
First in valour as in blood,
The matchless Hengist to the battle woke.

Uprose in that eventful tide
Full many a warrior brave,
And don'd his armour's golden pride,
And girt his glittering glaive.
At the high hall's portal wide,
Foremost of the noble band,
Sigvart and Æha proudly stand.
Where other pass the foe might find,
Ordlaf watch'd with Guthlaf join'd.
Garulf next with fiery speed
Roused Guthere from the slumberer's bed.
No care of dress their steps delay'd,
Each grasp'd in haste his shining blade,
And fierce the brother warriors flew
To guard the hall's high avenue.
He that prides him in the fight,
Had joy'd to see that gallant sight.

And now in accents loud
The foeman's chieftain bold and proud
Sought what thane or battle lord
At the high gate kept watch and ward.
"Sigvart is here," the champion cried,
"Sigvart oft in battle tried,

Known to all the warrior train
Where spreads the [1] Frisian's wide domain.
Now, chieftain, turn thee to the fight,
Or yield thee to the [2] Jutish might."

Soon the tented halls among
Loud the din of slaughter rung;
Closer now each hostile band
Grasps the shield with eager hand,
And many a chief is doom'd to feel
Through helm and head the griding steel.
First in that disastrous plain
Guthlaf's valiant son was slain,
Where Garulf lies untimely dead
Many a fated hero bled.
There to seek his destined food,
The dark and willow pinion'd raven stood:
And far around that field of blood
The sword's dread radiance beam'd to heaven.
It seem'd as though that morn had given
All Finsburg to the ravening flame.
Ne'er heard I yet of fight might claim
A nobler or a sadder name.

At the high hall a chosen band,
Leaders brave that shine afar,
Full sixty sons of victory stand
In all the golden pomp of war:
Little think they to forgo
The hall of mead for that proud foe.

[1] I have here substituted Frisian's for 'Saxon's,' in order to render it consistent with the real narrative.—ED.

[2] Substituted for 'Saxon.'—ED.

Five live-long days the battle's sound
Was heard by Finsburg's earth-raised mound,
Yet undiminish'd and unquell'd
That hero band the portal held.
Till bleeding from the [1] Scylding's blade
[2] The City's lord his fear betray'd,
And told, in accents of despair,
How broken helm and corslet reft
Defenceless to the stroke had left
His head and bosom bare.
Then sought the vanquish'd [3] train relief
And safety for their wounded chief.

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[1] Substituted for 'Saxon.'—Ed.
[2] Substituted for 'our foeman's lord.'—Ed.
[3] Substituted for 'foe.'—Ed.

No. II.

SPECIMENS FROM THE JUNIAN CÆDMON.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE BY THE EDITOR.

THE account handed down in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, of the ancient Saxon poet Cædmon, and the undoubted fragment of his composition there preserved to us, have already been fully noticed in the beginning of this work:—the poems which form the present article are of a more problematical character. They constitute a metrical paraphrase of the Book of Genesis and some other parts of the Old Testament, extant in a MS. of the tenth century, preserved in the Bodleian Library[1], but unfortunately destitute of the author's name. Junius, who published at Amsterdam, in 1655, an edition of this work (which has since become of the greatest rarity), was, from the identity of the subjects with those which we know, upon the authority of Bede, to have occupied Cædmon's muse, induced to ascribe it without hesitation to that author; and it may be added, in support of his opinion, that the internal evidence, arising from a comparison of the undoubted fragment as before given and the Paraphrase in question, is, so far as it goes, favourable[2]; the same poetical ornaments and form of

[1] Junius XI. a small folio on parchment, with several illuminations, from which a series of engravings on copper was made some years since, the original plates being now in the possession of Mr. Ellis of the British Museum. The MS. is in two different hands—the first portion apparently of the close of the tenth century, the latter of the eleventh.

[2] It will be remembered that this fragment consists only of eighteen short lines. We have the following epithets of the Deity, all of frequent occurrence

construction being common to both: yet it must at the same time be acknowledged, that there exists so high a degree of uniformity in these respects throughout the great mass of Saxon poetry, that the argument cannot be considered as decisive; for on similar grounds we should also be led to ascribe the greater part of the Exeter MS. and very many other Saxon poems (without any ancient authority for so doing) to the same claimant: and the style even in Beowulf (which, from the subject, must in all probability be referred to the Dano-Saxon period, and therefore be placed three or four centuries later than the age of Cædmon,) exhibits the same general

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in the paraphrase—Heofon rices weard, Ece Drihten, Halig Scippend, Moncynnes weard, Frea Ælmihtig. Indeed, there is scarcely a single phrase that is not common to both the compositions, and the same identity prevails in their whole structure. The exordium of the Paraphrase conveys exactly the same thought as the Hymn cited by Bede, clothed nearly in the very same expressions.

Us is riht micel	*Nobis est maximè æquum*
Ðæt we rodera weard,	*Cælorum custodem,*
Wereda wuldor Cining,	*Populorum gloriosum Regem,*
Wordum herigen,	*Verbis celebrare,*
Modum lufien;	*Animis amare;*
He is mægna sped,	*Ille vel potentibus adjumento est,*
Heafod ealra	*Caput omnium*
Heah gesceafta,	*Quotquot excelsa sunt creata,*
Frea ælmihtig.	*Rector omnipotens.*
Næs him fruma æfre	*Non fuit ei principium unquam*
Or geworden,	*Antiquitùs progenitum,*
Ne nu ende cymð	*Neque dehinc finis aderit*
Ecean Drihtnes.	*Æterno Domino.*

Us is much right that we heaven's guardian Lord,
The King in glory o'er his hosts supreme,
Praise with our lips, and in our hearts adore.
Source of all power, of all his noblest works
Himself the nobler head, Almighty Prince!
To him beginning none of days was wrought
Before, nor change nor end approacheth nigh
The' eternal Ruler's ever-during sway.

features. Hickes and Wanley have, on these grounds, dissented from the opinion of Junius, and are rather willing to ascribe these productions to some unknown Dano-Saxon Scald, than to the father of Anglo-Saxon poetry. Their negative, however, does not appear to be better supported than his affirmative; for the distinction which they both assign between the pure and Dano-Saxon styles is assuredly one rather of individual genius, or of particular classes of poetry, than of the schools of different ages. It consists in the absence of poetical ornament and diction. When an author, from the nature of his subject, (as Alfred in his version of the moral and philosophical poetry of Boethius,) or from his incapacity for any thing better, writes in a style little elevated above the ordinary tenour of prose, they select him as one of the spring-heads of the "pure well of Saxon undefiled." Thus a tedious description of Durham, which has nothing of poetry excepting the metrical arrangement, is praised as genuine and sterling; but if the bard should attempt the inversions and figures of a loftier strain, he is immediately set down as a Dano-Saxon. Since, however, the fragment of the genuine Cædmon possesses, in a high degree, the same characteristic features, their conclusions rest on an assumption which appears to be untenable. As we learn from Bede that Cædmon was the head of an extensive school of imitators, who adopted him as their great model, should we not rather infer that the peculiarities in question were derived from that source, and always mark the compositions in which they occur, if not as those of Cædmon himself, at least as those of the Cædmonian school?

The question, therefore, whether the Bodleian MS. exhibits the genuine remains of the great head of that school, or of some one among its later disciples, must be considered as undecided, and, unless some more perfect copy should be discovered (an event not to be hoped for), incapable perhaps of decision, except in so far as the merit of many portions of the Paraphrase, and especially of the narrative of the fall of our first parents, may induce us rather to incline to the former opinion.

The contents of the MS., which has given occasion to these remarks, may be thus briefly analysed:

1. The first portion, after an exordium of thanksgiving to the great Creator, relates the fall of a portion of the angelic host, and the design of the Deity to replenish the void thus occasioned in his creation by a better and holier race;—the consequent production of this earthly system by the successive operations of six days is then closely, yet not without the addition of poetical ornament, paraphrased from the first chapter of Genesis. But a chasm in the MS. has interrupted the narrative at the close of the third day's work. It recommences with the formation of Eve, and a description of Paradise, being again mutilated in the prohibitory charge which was made the test of obedience to its inhabitants. This occupies the first five pages of the Junian edition, and may be considered as introductory.

2. The paraphrast then enters upon what seems originally to have formed a distinct narrative, having for its subject the fall of man, ushered in by a repetition (but more in detail) of the circumstances already introduced in the exordium[1], of the pride, rebellion, and punishment of Satan and his powers; and, with a resemblance to Milton so remarkable that much of this portion might be almost literally translated by a cento of lines from that great poet, he introduces us to the debates of the fallen angels, and ascribes to their prince a speech of much spirit and character, although injured by the repetitions common to the poetry of a rude period. In this,

[1] Another Northern work, the *Speculum Regale*, written in the Icelandic dialect by an uncertain author, probably about the latter half of the twelfth century, contains a prose account of the fallen angels and temptation of Adam, which may be compared with this of Cædmon. In the earlier part the resemblance is considerable, especially in the speech ascribed to Satan; but afterwards the likeness ceases, for Satan is described as accompanied by personifications of the principal vices—envy, hatred, fraud, avarice, ambition, voluptuousness, &c.

Satan, after indignant murmurs at his fate, exhorts his companions, by the memory of past benefits, to aid in soothing his pains by procuring that vengeance against the new favourites of Heaven, which the fiery fetters bound indissolubly upon his own limbs (but, as it should seem, upon his alone) deprived him of the possibility of attempting in person. One of the associate fiends (as may be gathered from the context, for the MS. is here again mutilated) accepts the task, and under the disguise of the serpent becomes the tempter[1] of our first parents, with whom he enters upon a long dialogue, representing himself as an emissary from the Deity, commissioned to charge them to partake of the tree of death. Adam refuses to credit his pretensions; but Eve yields to his threats of the vengeance of Heaven, provoked by the incredulity with which its messenger had been received; and to the compliments which he adroitly insinuates to her own superior prudence—a quality, however, in which the poet more than hints his opinion of her deficiency: —the fiend casts over her a magical delusion, by which he induces her to believe at the moment when she has eaten the forbidden fruit, that all her faculties are expanded, that a celestial light shines around her, and that her sphere of vision is so enlarged as to penetrate throughout the universe, even to the throne where the Deity sitteth, in the south-eastern regions[2] of the heavens, encircled by

[1] This distinction between Satan and the Tempter I cannot trace to any older source whence the paraphrast may be supposed to have borrowed it; possibly it may have been suggested by the phrase "Satan and the Old Serpent," occurring in the Revelations.

[2] Can the direction of Christian churches towards this point of the compass have led to this singular localization of the throne of Deity? As opposed to it, we find the rebel angels described by our poet as intending to erect a rival seat of power in the north-west. The idea which attributes the north to this latter purpose is very common, and perhaps derived from receiving literally a figurative passage in Isaiah, xiv. 12. To this Milton alludes, *P. L.* v. 689, "Where we possess the quarters of the north." But the addition of the west is, I believe, peculiar to the Saxon paraphrast. Bishop Newton's note on the passage above cited in his edition of Milton, commences with a naïveté sufficiently amusing: "Some have thought that Milton intended, but I dare say he was above intending here, *a reflection on Scotland.*"

his angels. Her representations and persuasions succeed in shaking the resolution of her husband; and the tempter prepares to return to his prince, exulting in the triumphant revenge which he is about to carry back as an alleviation to the torments of hell. The misery and remorse of Adam, and the judgement of the Deity, are then briefly described. This portion of the paraphrase (which here, indeed, rather claims the title of an original poem) extends from the 5th to the 24th page of the printed edition. From the awkwardness of its connection with the narrative of the creation, the repetition of the story of the fallen angels, and the change of metre observable near its commencement[1], as well as from the contrast which it exhibits to the meagre style of much of the following paraphrase, it seems to have formed originally a distinct composition, which perhaps the paraphrast of a later age has worked up into his fabric. Its form and character is remarkably dramatic; and if we had any reasons for supposing that representations of scriptural histories analogous to the mysteries of a later period were then known, we might almost believe it to have been written with that view.

3. The subsequent histories of Cain and Abel, and of the patriarchs, both before and after the flood, to the close of the life of Abraham, are regularly narrated in almost literal and undecorated versions of the scriptural accounts[2]; the only attempts to introduce ornaments of a more poetical character occurring in the narrative of the Deluge, and of the battle of the kings against Sodom. This portion terminates in the 63rd page of the printed edition.

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[1] See the specimens of the longer Cædmonian lines in the Introductory Essay on Saxon Metre.

[2] For example, "Of that race was Cainan, next after Enos, the supreme ruler, the protector, and instructor; he had even 70 winters ere a son arose to him; then was in the land an heir begotten to the race of Cainan, Malahel was he named; after that, 840 winters, the son of Enos increased with men the number of his progeny. He had in all 900 winters, and 10 also when he departed this world."

4. By an abrupt transition, the paraphrast passes at once from Abraham to Moses, and records the miracles wrought upon the land of Egypt, and the overthrow of Pharaoh's host in the Red Sea. In this part, which extends to p. 72, the style again becomes more spirited.

5. Hence by another hasty advance, in which the fortunes of the Israelites from the age of Moses to that of Daniel are slightly alluded to in a few lines, apparently added for the purpose of affording a connecting link between two compositions originally detached, we are conducted to a paraphrase of the contents of the first five chapters of the latter prophet, including also the apocryphal Song of the Three Children, extending to page 92, and ending abruptly in the middle of the speech of Daniel to Belshazzar. Here the older hand-writing of the MS. ceases, the following portion being of a different and more modern, though still ancient character.

6. This appended part consists of an entirely distinct poem, the principal subject of which is the triumphant entrance into Hades by Christ, familiarly known in the middle ages under the title of the Harrowing of Hell. But this is introduced by several long harangues of Satan and his angels, reproaching themselves and each other with their crime and its consequent punishment, so little connected with the sequel or with each other, and so inartificially thrown together, as rather to resemble an accumulation of detached fragments than any regular design. After these speeches, the poet digresses to the moral inference that man may acquire, by his conduct, either joy with the angels above, or torment in the society of these fiends—expatiating on either alternative. He then proceeds to state that the knowledge that Christ should descend to Hell to redeem his people, was an especial cause of grief to Lucifer. The dread of the fiends, and the joy of the captive spirits of men, at the accomplishment of that great event, are next described. While the victorious Redeemer prepares to lead forth his ransomed saints, Eve addresses him, bewailing the consequences of her transgression,

and supplicating his aid to deliver herself and her offspring, since for that purpose he had, from her daughter Mary, assumed the nature of man. Christ having accomplished this deliverance, in turn recapitulates what he had endured and done for that purpose. His several appearances to his disciples after his resurrection, the institution of baptism, and his ascension, briefly follow; and the consideration of his present station at the right hand of the Eternal Father, is made to introduce that of his future and final judgement. By an abrupt and singular transition, the poet having described the hymns of the glorified spirits in heaven to their Lord, turns back to his temptation, with the observation, "This is the same Lord who died and endured temptation for us." With this, and the return of the baffled Tempter to his prison-house, the MS. concludes.

SPECIMENS FROM THE JUNIAN CÆDMON.

I.

SPEECH OF SATAN.

"Is ðæs ænga styde,	"*Estne hic iniquus locus,*
(Ungelic swiðe	(*Dissimilis valde*
Ðam odrum	*Illis aliis*
Ðe we ær cuðon	*Quæ nos olim novimus*
Hean on heofon rice)	*Altè in cælorum regno*)
Ðe me min hearra onlag?	*Quo me meus Dominus detrudit?*
Ðeah we hine	*Siquidem nos eos*
For ðam alwaldan	*Per Illum omnipotentem*
Agan ne moston,	*Possidere non debemus,*
Romigan ures rices.	Coacti *cedere e regno nostro.*
Næfð he ðeah	*Non ille siquidem*

Riht ȝedon,	*Jure fecit,*
Ðat he us hæfð befielled	*Quòd ille nos oppressit*
Fyre to botme	*Igne in abysso*
Helle ðære hatan,	*Gehennæ hujus torridi,*
Heofon rice benumen.	*(Et) cœlorum regnum abstulit.*
Hafað hit ȝemearcod	*Illud designavit*
Mid moncynne	*Humano generi*
To ȝesettanne.	*In possessionem.*
Ðæt me is sorȝa mæst,	*Hoc mihi est dolor maximus,*
Ðæt Adam sceal,	*Quòd Adamus debet*
Ðe wæs of eorðan ȝeworht,	*Qui fuit e terrâ fabricatus*
Minne stronȝlican	*Meam potentem*
Stol behealdan,	*Sedem possidere,*
Wesan him on wynne,	*Forè illum in gaudio,*
And we ðis wite ðolien,	*Et nos hanc vindictam pati*
Hearm on ðisse helle.	*Pœnam in hoc inferno.*
Wa la! ahte ic	*Me miserum! si habuerim*
Minra handa ȝeweald,	*Mearum manuum potentiam,*
And moste ane tíd	*Et possem in aliquid temporis*
Ute weorðan,	*Hinc evadere,*
Wesan ane winter stunde.	*Sit (licet) unum (tantum) hybernum tempus.*
Ðonne ic mid ðis werode—	*Tunc ego cum hoc exercitu—*
Ac licȝað me ymbe	*Sed jacet circum me*
Iren benda,	*Ferrea catena,*
Rideð racentan sal.	*Deprimit vinculorum nexus.*
Ic eom ricesleas!	*Sum regno destitutus!*
Habbað me swa heârde	*Tenent me adeo validè*
Helle clommas	*Gehennæ vincula*
Fæste befanȝen.	*Fortiter obstringendo.*
Her is fyr micel	*Hic est ignis multus,*
Ufan and neoðone,	*Suprà et infrà,*
Ic a ne ȝeseah	*Ego nunquam vidi*
Laðran landscipe.	*Tetrius spectaculum.*

Liȝ ne aswamaƀ	*Flamma non languescit*
Hát ofer helle.	*Torrida super Gehennam.*
Me habbaƀ hrinȝa ȝesponȝ,	*Mihi annulis constructa*
Sliƀ hearda sal	*Mordacibus catena*
Siƀes amyrred."	*Gressus impedivit."*

"Is this the hateful place (unlike indeed
Those seats we once in heaven's high kingdom knew)
To which the conqueror chains me, never more,
Expelled by him, the' Almighty one, to gain
That realm! How hath he wrong'd us of our right,
That the dread flames of this infernal gulf
Pours full upon us, and denies us heaven!
That heaven, alas, he destines to receive
The sons of men: 'tis this that grieves me most,
That Adam, he the earthborn, should possess
My glorious seat; that he should live in joy,
And we in hell's avenging horrors pine.
O that my hands were free, that I might hence
But for a time, but for a winter's day!
Then with this host: but that these knotted chains
Encompass, that these iron bands press on me.
O! I am kingdomless; hell's fetters cling
Hard on each limb: above, beneath, the flame
Fierce rages: sight more horrible mine eyes
Ne'er yet have witness'd. O'er these scorching deeps
The fire no respite knows: the strong forged chain,
With ever-biting links, forbids my course."

II.

THE UNIVERSAL DELUGE.

As the original of this passage is printed as a specimen of the metrical structure of Saxon poetry in the Introductory Essay on that subject, it is unnecessary to repeat it in this place.

THE Lord sent rain from heaven, and, o'er the land
Wide wasting, bad the whelming torrents rush:
Dark from the' abyss, with hideous roar burst forth
The' imprison'd waters. Ocean heav'd his tide
High o'er its wonted limits. Strong was he
And mighty in his wrath, that on the plains
Pour'd that avenging stream, and swept to death,
Wide through the realms of earth, a sinful race.
Now o'er each dwelling-place of man the wave
Spread desolation, for the Lord fulfill'd
His anger upon mortals. Fifty days,
And fifty nights continuous that dark flood,
Fear-struck and fainting, drove them to their doom.
Vengeance and death in all their terrors raged.
The heaven-commission'd waters on all flesh
Work'd the dread punishment of lawless lust.
Fearful and wild where'er beneath the sky
Earth spreads her ample confines, the swift stream
O'er-tower'd the mountains, and, secure meanwhile,
With all her inmates bore the sacred bark.
Sped by the power that bad creation rise,
So swell'd the flood that soon its buoyant load
The watery waste encompass'd;—fearless then
Of hunger or of harm they rode at large
Beneath heaven's canopy;—the billow's rage

Touch'd not that fated vessel—for their Lord
Was with them still—the Holy one preserved them.
Full fifteen cubits o'er the mountain heights
The sea-flood rose and drank the force of man.[1]
Wondrous and awful was that work of wrath.
[2] *They* were cut off from men, and none was near them,
Save Him that reigns above;—all else on earth
The whelming host of waters cover'd wide.
That ark alone the' Almighty one upheld.

III.

THE OVERTHROW OF PHARAOH AND THE EGYPTIANS IN THE RED SEA.

[Page 72.]

Folc wæs afæred,	*Populus fuit pavefactus,*
Flod eȝsa becwom.	*Fluctus terribilis supervenit* eos.
Gastas ȝeomre	*Spiritus murmurantes*
Geofon deaðe-hweop.	*Dabant mortis-ululatum,*
Wæron beorh-hliðu	*Erant tumulorum apices*
Blode-bestemed.	*Sanguine fumantes.*
Holm heolfre spaw,	*Mare cruorem evomebat,*
Hream wæs on yðum.	*Lamentatio erat super undas.*

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[1] The poetical feeling of the Translator has here, I fear, seduced him into an incorrect version; the original "fiftena stod. deop ofer dunum. *sæ drenc flod. monnes elna,*" is simply—"the drenching sea-flood stood fifteen ells deep over the hills," monnes elna is the usual name for this measure.—Ed.

[2] Noah and his family—The abruptness of the transition here is very striking.

Wæter wæpnaful	[1] *Aquâ armorum plenâ*
Wælmist astah.	*Gurgitis caligo oriebatur.*
Wæron Egypte	*Erant Ægypti*
Eft on-cyrdé,	*Retrò versi,*
Flugon forhtigende,	*Fugiebant pavidi,*
Fær ongeton.	*Timorem penitùs senserunt.*
Woldon here bleaðe	*Vellet exercitus lubenter*
Hamas findan,	*Domum reparare,*
Gylp wearð gnornra;	*Superbia* eorum *erat dejectior facta;*
Him ongen genap	*Illos iterum corripuit*
Atol yða gewealc,	*Terribilis fluctuum volutatio,*
Næ ðær æniġ becwom	*Neque inde ulli redibant*
Herges to hame.	*Bellatores domum.*
Ac behindan beleac	*Sed pone occludebat* eos
Wyrd mid-wæge.	*Fatum in medio cursu.*
Ðær ær wægas lagon	*Ubi modò via fuerat aperta*
Mere modgode:	*Mare furebat:*
Mægen wæs adrenced.	*Agmen submersum est.*
Streamas stodon,	*Fluctus ascendebant,*
Storm up-gewat	*Tempestas exorta est*
Heah to heofonum.	*Altè in cœlos.*
Here wopa mæst,	*Exercitus flebat multum,*
Lathe! cyrmdon	*Mœror! clamabant*
Lyft up geswearc.	*Usque ad aëra tenebrosum*
Fægum stæfnum.	*Languidis vocibus.*
Gyllende gryre	*Fremens horribile*
Gar-secg wedde	*Oceani violentia furebat*
Up ateah on sleap.	*Experrecta e somno.*

[1] The meaning of this line is not very clear, nor is the editor confident that his own translation is correct. *Aquâ tanquam lacrymarum plenâ* was suggested by a friend, and is adopted in the English.

Ezesan stodon,	*Terrores* ejus *assurgebant,*
Weollon wæl-benna,	*Volvebantur cadavera hominum,*
Wit-rod zefeol,	*Supplicii virga incidebat* in eos,
(Heah of heofonum	(*Alti in cœlis*
Hand weorc Godes)	*Manuum opus Dei*)
Famiz bosma	*Spumanti* in *sinu*
Flodwearde sloh,	*Fluctuum custos obruebat* eos,
Unhleowan wæz.	*Immitis unda.*

THE heathen stood aghast: fierce raged the flood,
And wailing spirits gave the shriek of death.
The blood stream'd fresh on each man's destined grave;
The sea foam'd gore; screams were amid the waves,
As though the waters wept: darkling uprose
The whirlpool mists: Egypt was backwards turn'd;
Dismay'd they fled; fear struck their inmost soul.
How fall'n their boasting now! how would they joy
Once more to reach their home; but that foul surf,
Swift rolling in its force, o'erwhelm'd their pride,
That none return'd of all the warrior train.
Midways Jehovah stay'd their mad career:
Where lay their path, there raged the ocean wave.
Low sunk the host; the streams ascended high,
And high as heaven uprose the vengeful storm.
Loud wept the warriors; from each dying tongue
The shriek of woe pierced the cloud-darken'd air.

Mad ocean raged; forth from his slumbers roused,
In all his terrors, stood the King of floods:
With horrid din he chased the warrior host:
Corpse rolling upon corpse, the' unpitying wave
(So work'd the will of heaven's Almighty Lord)
Deep in its foaming bosom held their pride.

Another specimen of Saxon narrative poetry, derived from a Scriptural source, is preserved in the Cottonian Library, Vitellius X., and has been published by Mr. Thwaite, appended to his edition of the Heptateuch. This is in its present state a fragment only, comprising the concluding section of a regular poem which has originally extended through ten sections. The subject is founded on the apocryphal history of Judith; which has afforded however the outline only, the whole colouring and filling up having been supplied by the imagination of the poet. In style it greatly resembles those portions of the Junian Cædmon in which the character of a servile paraphrast is exchanged for a bolder strain of original invention,—as in the description of the fallen angels, &c. The part still extant describes the feast and death of Holofernes, the escape of Judith, and the victory achieved by her countrymen over the Assyrians. Mr. Turner, to whom Anglo-Saxon literature is so much indebted, has already presented the public with a literal English version of the most interesting passages which remain, including, indeed, not less than two-thirds of the whole fragment. (See *History of the Anglo-Saxons.*) It cannot therefore be necessary to enter more fully upon the subject in the present work.

No. III.

EXETER MANUSCRIPT.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE BY THE EDITOR.

THIS MS. has already been generally described in the introduction to the Song of the Traveller, one of the most singular poems contained in it, printed in the earlier part of this volume; it had been intended by the Author of these Illustrations to have given, in the course of them, very copious extracts from other portions of this ancient collection, and he had prepared extensive transcripts for this purpose, especially from the latter parts of the volume, which have been passed over by Wanley in his analytical Catalogue of Saxon MSS. with a very vague and incorrect notice. Under these circumstances the Editor was of opinion that he should perform an acceptable service to the Saxon antiquary in presenting some account of the results arising from this more careful re-examination of a relic so interesting; and he has inserted it in this place as forming an appropriate introduction to the following specimens selected from the MS. itself.

The MS. in question is a folio of middle size, distinguished by the clearness and beauty of its characters. It formed a part of the donations of Bishop Leofric (between the years 1046 and 1073) to the library of his cathedral at Exeter, and appears to have been the volume which he designates, in a Catalogue[1] still extant of the

[1] This Catalogue is reprinted below, from the copy given by Wanley, as affording an interesting view of a conventual library at that period. It has

books which he thus bestowed, as "I mycel Englisc boc be ȝehwylcum ðinȝum on leoðwisan ȝeworht," "One large English book concerning miscellaneous subjects composed in verse." It is at present mutilated both at the beginning and end, and has been

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now (in consequence, probably, of the dispersion of monastic property after the Reformation) found its way to the Bodleian, as have some other parts of the good Bishop's literary donation; others are preserved in the library of Bennett College, Cambridge; while a few only remain in the possession of the Chapter of Exeter. It will be seen that the contents were chiefly of a liturgical nature, with portions of the Scriptures, Commentaries on them, Homilies, &c. Persius is the only poetical, and Porphyry the only philosophical writer of classical antiquity. Of the later period we have Boethius, Sedulius, Prudentius, and Orosius.

ii.	Fulle Mæsse bec - - -	2 Perfect Missals.
i.	Collectaneum - - -	1 Copy of the Collects.
ii.	Pistel bec - - - -	2 Copies of the Epistles.
ii.	Fulle sanȝ bec - - -	2 Entire Antiphonaria.
i.	Niht sanȝ - - - -	1 Night-song, perhaps the Complin-service.
i.	Ad te levavi - - - -	The service thus beginning.
i.	Tropere - - - -	1 Troparium.
	Se ðriddan Saltere swa man singð on Rome	Psalter of St. Jerome?
ii.	Ymneras - - - -	2 Collections of Hymns.
i.	Deorwyrðe Bletsinȝ boc - -	1 Benedictional of great value.
iii.	oðre - - - - -	3 Ditto.
i.	Englisc Xres-boc - - -	1 Saxon Gospels.
ii.	Sumer Rædinȝ boc - -	2 Lessons for the Summer Service.
i.	Winter Rædinȝ boc - -	1 Ditto for the Winter.
i.	Regula Canonicorum - -	1 Rule of St. Benedict?
	Martirologium - - -	History of Martyrs.
i.	Canon on Læden - - -	1 Canons in Latin.
i.	Scrift boc on Enȝlisc - -	1 Saxon Confessional.
i.	Ful Spel boc Wintres and Sumeres	1 Complete collection of Homilies for Winter and Summer.
	Boetics boc on Englisc - -	*Saxon translation of Boethius.*
i.	Mycel Englisc boc, &c. - -	The poetical MS. above described.

It is added, that he found in the church, at his accession, only a Capitulary,

bound up with a few leaves of a very different nature, containing a list of the benefactions of Leofric to the see, and several legal deeds, such as attestations of the purchase or manumission of villeins, of bequests of lands, &c.

The poetical MS. itself is divided into ten books, and these are again subdivided into shorter sections.

THE FIRST BOOK, which is imperfect in the commencement,

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and old and decayed copies of the Epistles, Lessons, Night-song and Missal; and that he introduced the following Latin books:

Liber Pastoralis (Gregorii I. Papæ).
L. Dialogorum [ejusdem Gregorii].
L. iv. Prophetarum.
L. Boetii de Consolatione.
Isagoge Porphyrii.
L. Passionalis.
L. Prosperi.
L. Prudentii Psychomachiæ.
L. Prudentii Hymnorum.
L. Prudentii de Martyribus.
L. Ezechielis Prophetæ.
Cantica Canticorum.
L. Esaiæ Prophetæ.
L. Isidori Etymologiarum.
Passiones Apostolorum.
Expositio Bedæ super Evangelium Lucæ.
Expositio Bedæ super Apocalypsin.
Expositio Bedæ super vii. Epistolas Canonicas.
L. Isidori de Novo et Veteri Testamento.
L. Isidori de Miraculis $\overline{\text{XRI}}$.
L. Oserii (forte Orosii).
L. Machabæorum.
L. Persii.
L. Sedulii.
L. Aratoris.
Diadema Monachorum.
Glosæ Statii.
L. Officialis Amalarii.

contains five poems, which appear to be correctly described in Wanley's Catalogue, and which principally relate to the nativity of our Saviour, and the praises of his virgin mother: the third of these is entitled by Wanley, *Poema sive Hymnus maximè de B. V. Mariâ.* This is, however, a very loose and inaccurate description of its real contents. The following account of it is extracted from the Lectures delivered by the late author of this work as Anglo-Saxon Professor in the University of Oxford. "It is in fact a *dialogue* between the Virgin Mary and Joseph, imitated probably from some of those apocryphal writings current in the middle ages under the titles of the Life, or the Gospel, of the Virgin. The dialogue commences with an address of the Virgin to Joseph, expressing her fears lest she should be subjected by the rigour of the Jewish law to the punishment of an adulteress; and the answer of Joseph is occupied, partly by the assurance of his steady belief in her purity, and other expressions calculated to remove her distress; and partly, by prayer and thanksgiving to the power which had so signally favoured himself and his lineage. It will be readily agreed that this subject, from its sacred and mysterious nature, is ill adapted to the purposes of poetry. The general absence of taste and refinement which characterized the age in which the poem was originally written, may fairly be pleaded in defence of its author; but in the present day no such excuse could well be discovered for a translator." Indeed, I should have felt disposed to have passed over the poem without notice, had not the dramatic form in which it is written rendered it an object of some curiosity. Dialogues of this kind were probably in our own country, as in Greece, the earliest and rudest species of the drama; and that here preserved is unquestionably by many years the most ancient specimen of this kind of poetry existing in our native language[1]." A copy of the entire poem is among the transcripts of the author.

[1] The reader, however, is desired to remember the remarks of the editor on the dramatic form of parts of the Junian Cædmon.

THE SECOND BOOK contains—

1. A Poem on the Nativity. (14th leaf.)

2. (15th leaf.) A Poem on the Day of Judgement, as stated by Wanley: or, rather, A description of the entrance of the saints into the glory of heaven. Entirely transcribed by the author. An abstract of it is given among the following specimens.

3. (16th leaf.) An Hymn of Thanksgiving for the general Mercies of God. Transcribed; and full extracts given in this collection.

4. (18th leaf.) Described by Wanley as *Poema de Christi Incarnatione*, appears rather to be the sequel of the former poem, since it begins abruptly, "Thus the mighty God, the King of all things, with unsparing gifts guardeth in wisdom the progeny of Earth." The poet then compares the Deity to the sun, and his Church to the moon, and dwells on the persecutions through which it had passed. From this topic he proceeds, with little apparent connexion, to cite Canticles ii. 8: "The voice of my beloved! behold, he cometh *leaping* upon the mountains," &c.[1] This is mystically applied to our Saviour: the *first leap* is allegorized as his incarnation; the *second*, his nativity; the *third*, his crucifixion; the *fourth*, his burial; the *fifth*, his descent to hell; the *sixth*, his ascension. Hence the poet infers that we ought, in like manner, to leap from excellence to excellence, till we ascend also into heaven: and as we have on the one hand the hope of salvation and the spiritual aid of the Deity to encourage us, and on the other are beset by the assaults of devils and the dangers of hell, we should hold ourselves accordingly on our guard.—An entire copy is among the transcripts.

[1] This mystical interpretation of the above text seems to have been in high favour with the Saxon theologians; for we find it also in a Homily preserved in Trinity College Cambridge, and quoted by Hickes, *Thes.* T. 1. p. 168: 'ðæt seid Sćs Salomon ðe wise, and ðus queð:' *Ecce venit saliens in montibus et transiliens colles. Septem igitur ut ita dicam saltus dedit; e cælo in Virginis uterum—inde in præsepium—inde in crucem—inde in sepulchrum—inde in infernum —inde in mundum, et hinc in cælum.*

5. (19th leaf.) A Poem on the Day of Judgement, in part of which, several Runic characters are introduced, obviously as monogrammatic cyphers, each denoting an entire word, either the same with that which gave its name to the respective letters of the Runic alphabet, or some one of similar sound. Such appears to have been the general use of these characters when introduced into Saxon poetry, of which the cypher representing Ethel (*country*, as detected by the sagacity of Mr. Price,) in the MS. of Beowulf (See the Various Readings of that poem inserted in the present work), affords a good example. Hickes has engraved a fac-simile of this part of the Exeter MS. in the Preface to his Icelandic Grammar. *Thes. Ling. Vet. Sept.* tom. 2.

THE THIRD BOOK (extending from the 20th to the 32nd leaf) contains, according to Wanley, a series of seven poems concerning the Day of Judgement. No transcripts were made from this book.

THE FOURTH BOOK (extending from the 32nd to the 44th leaf) is described by Wanley as treating of the joys prepared by God for those that love him; together with a poetical narrative of the Celestial Visions of St. Guthlac the anchorite. No transcripts were made from it.

THE FIFTH BOOK (extending from the 44th to the 55th leaf) contains, according to Wanley, nine sections, treating of the Creation and Fall of Man; of the above-mentioned St. Guthlac; and of the Three Holy Children, Ananias, Azarias, and Mishael; and Nebuchadnezzar. The Song of the Three Children agrees, with the exception of a few verbal differences, with the version contained in the *Junian Cædmon*, p. 81. No transcripts were made from this book, excepting a collation of the two copies of the Song of the Holy Children.

THE SIXTH BOOK (from leaf 55 to 65) consists of a paraphrase of the poem on the Phœnix, attributed to Lactantius, here converted into an allegory of the Resurrection. It consists of seven sections.

A transcript was made of the first of these, of which an analysis and extracts will be found among the following specimens.

THE SEVENTH BOOK relates the Passion of St. Juliana, in the time of Maximian; in seven sections, extending from leaf 65 to 78. No transcripts were made.

THE EIGHTH BOOK (leaf 78 to 84) is, according to Wanley, a metrical Homily, treating on the doctrines of Theology, in four sections. No extracts were made.

THE NINTH BOOK is dismissed by Wanley with the brief observation that it is "*ferè totus in ænigmatibus :*" a description, however, which does not correctly apply to any part of it, and which could have been suggested only by the obscurity and difficulty of its actual contents. These (which were entirely transcribed by the late author) are

1. (leaf 84.) The Song of the Traveller: printed in the beginning of this work.

2. On the various fortunes of men. "When parents have educated the child, God alone foresees what shall befall the adult. Some a premature death shall cut off; either the wolf, the hoary wanderer of the heath, shall devour them, or famine consume, or weapons of war, or a fall from the lofty trees of the forest, or the perils of foreign enterprise, or (as is added, not very poetically to lithis st of casualties) the crooked gallows shall end their days; and some shall perish in the drunken broils of the mead-bench; while to others Providence shall assign an old age of happiness after a youth of adversity. So are the vicissitudes of human affairs regulated. And thus also in the gifts of intellect: some excel in learning; others, by skill in working golden ornaments, obtain broad lands from their prince;—some strike their harps before the revellers at the beer-bench, or at the feet of their lord; others can train the wild hawk. So God distributes various gifts to each, and claims the grateful praise of all."

3. (leaf 88.) This and the following poems consist of a series

of maxims and descriptions, thrown together with little or no connexion, in the manner of the gnomic poetry of the Greeks; or, to use a more familiar illustration, resembling the most miscellaneous chapters of the Book of Proverbs. It is obvious that such compositions are not susceptible of regular analysis. The present poem commences, however, with an introduction which may claim some notice; the minstrel here demands that those whom he addresses should exchange with him the words of wisdom, and unfold their hidden knowledge, as the condition upon which he is to impart his own, since Gleemen ought thus to discourse in alternate songs. He then proceeds with many detached axioms on the power of the Creator, the life and death of man, the vicissitudes of events, the necessity of education, &c.

4. (leaf 90.) Another poem of similar character.—Extracts from this are given among the specimens annexed, which will sufficiently illustrate the general style of this class of compositions. After the passages there translated, one occurs of rather more poetical merit than usual: "Dear is the welcome of the wife when the fleet standeth [at anchor]; his ship is returned, and her husband to his home. She leadeth him in, washeth his sea-stained dress, and giveth him new garments. Thus greeteth him his love, mild, on the land." The minstrel adds, however, that this is not always the case; for some ladies love the strange man, when their own "departeth far, and is long in the path of the ships." Towards the conclusion is found the following allusion to the ancient mythology of the North:

Hæðnum synne	Sin to the Heathens
Woden worhte weos.	Woden was made.

5. (leaf 91.) Another gnomic poem; on the advantages of friendship, the diversity of taste and talents, the benefit of brotherly affection, &c. It concludes by tracing the origin of discord to the homicide of Cain.

6. (leaf 92.) Must be referred to the same class with the former; but it possesses a much greater simplicity of subject and merit of

execution, as will appear from the following condensed translation: "Wilt thou interrogate the far-travelled stranger, and brood over that he tells thee of the wide creation. Instruction belongeth to them who through wisdom comprehend the universe in their breast, —who have examined the races of man and said the secret runes, and through the minstrel's craft declare it in their lays. Longer could I tell thee of the Creator's power than thou, though skilful of mind, couldest grasp in thy thought. Is indeed thy might exceeding strong? Yet this is not in the capacity of man, that moveth on the earth, that he should investigate the high work of his Maker further than he permitteth. Hear and reflect how in the creation he framed the heaven and earth, the sea's wide abyss, and those bright creatures that now in their multitudes rear and elevate, through his hand, their holy increase;—so all things obey the strong imposition of his voice. Through his mighty mind he ordained to the stars their varied course. So in their splendour they carry forth to the world the power of their Lord and the glory of his works, shining his praise: steadfastly through the long ages they perform the eternal word which issued from his throne who conducteth and comprehendeth all his creatures in his bosom—so wide his spirit and miraculous influence extend. Thus that bright luminary, wonderfully constituted, cometh each morn over the misty hills, to speed over the ways, advancing with the day-spring from the east, radiant and lovely, to the tribes of men, and to every thing that liveth. When it should descend, it proceedeth in glory forth on the western sky, till at even it reacheth the ocean's abyss; and twilight and night succeed. The lustre of the sky, and brightness of the heaven fadeth, while the star journeyeth through the creation of God beneath the bosom of the earth. But no man liveth, of knowledge equal to this, that he should investigate by his own skill how the gold-bright sun fareth through the deep, in that wan cloud beneath the accumulation of the waters, or how the dwellers on earth can again enjoy its light, after it hath turned away over the ocean's brink. So hath he, who well had

power, contrasted day with night, deep with high, the sky with the sea-streams, the land with the waters, earth with ocean, fire with the waves. This work doth not decay, but holdeth well, and standeth firmly fast, compacted with mighty bands of strength by the same power and majesty which raised up earth and heaven." A few lines of inferior merit, on the joys of heaven and the means of obtaining them, are added.

7. (leaf 94.) Is a poem remarkable chiefly for its metrical structure, possessing throughout the ornament of final rimes, frequently double, superadded to a very strict observance of alliteration. On this account, as an unique specimen in this language, the whole of it is printed in the Introductory Essay on Saxon Metre. The subject is extremely obscure, since the sense everywhere labours beneath the complicated jingle of the metrical fetters which the minstrel has chosen to forge for himself. The whole range of Saxon poetry, difficult as it often is, presents nothing which resists all ordinary processes of interpretation with equal obstinacy. It is expressed in the first person, and begins by describing the speaker as having been once in a state of great prosperity, detailed with the usual accumulation of parallel images: with these, others of actual wretchedness are afterwards contrasted, and (if I understand the composition rightly) these are uttered in the character of a sufferer in purgatory, who moralizes on the destruction which thus closes on all earthly greatness, but expresses a hope of final happiness in the heavens.

8. (leaf 95.) This and the following poem belong to the class of moralizations in which the middle ages so much delighted, and by which a typical sense was extracted from almost every object of nature or fiction. Thus in the sixth book of this MS. we have already seen the Phœnix employed as an allegorical illustration of the Resurrection. The subject here selected to undergo a similar process is the Panther, "an animal," according to the minstrel, "whose skin is spotted with all the hues of Joseph's tunic; it is gentle to all good creatures, and an enemy to dragons alone. After its food, it seeks

a secret resting-place in the caves of the mountains, and there slumbers through three nights: when it awakens on the third morning, it rises full of spirit, and utters a voice of melody; after which it breathes forth an odour of sweetness exceeding the most delicious blossoms or fruits and the choicest perfumes. Thus the Lord is a foe to the serpent alone, the author of evil; and thus rising after three nights from the grave, he diffused around the gifts of his spirit." The supposed perfume of the Panther is mentioned by most of the ancient and classical writers who have named that animal; but I am ignorant of the source whence these additional particulars of its natural history were derived.

9. (leaf 96.) Is a similar moralization on the Whale. "This monster of the deep resembles in appearance the rude and barren rock; so that incautious mariners cast their anchor in its side, disembark, and kindle their fire, when it suddenly plunges and overwhelms them amidst the waves. And in like manner does the fiend entice mankind by deceptive appearances to their destruction. The whale has another stratagem to satisfy its hunger: it opens its enormous jaws and emits an agreeable odour, which allures the other fish to swim into them. Thus also does our spiritual enemy, by the gratifications of sense, entrap the souls of men in his infernal prison."

10. (leaf 97.) A short religious poem of thirty lines. The invitations and promises of God are thus introduced: "I heard the word that the Ruler of glory spake, proclaimed by a bird wonderfully fair." This probably is intended as a mystical designation of the Holy Spirit.

BOOK THE TENTH AND LAST.

1. (leaf 98.) The Address of the departed Soul to the Body: from which an extract is given among the following specimens.

2. (leaf 101.) A Scaldic poem, containing allusions to the histories of Weland and of Theodric of Berne: also published among the specimens.

The remainder of the volume, about thirty leaves, is principally

occupied (the exceptions will presently be stated) with various ænigmata, for the most part so extremely obscure that they might suffice to damp the perseverance of a Saxon Œdipus far more keen than the present Editor: the language and style, indeed, appear intentionally clouded by the introduction of many unusual expressions, for which it would be vain to consult the extant dictionaries, and in fixing the sense of which we are, from the nature of such compositions, deprived of the assistance generally to be derived from the context. Lest, however, the reproach which an omission of much the same importance on the part of an early editor of Chaucer has drawn from his successors (*Tantamne rem tam negligenter*), should be repeated on this occasion, the following specimens are subjoined, as illustrating the general nature of these riddles of the olden time.

One of the longest of these (beginning Hwilum ic ȝewite. swa ne wenaȝ men under yða ȝeðræc. eorðan secan. garsecges ȝrund) appears to relate to the sun, which is described as "sometimes plunging below the foaming waves, and pursuing its course beneath the habitations of men; sometimes soaring over the sea agitated with storms, while the surges break over the borders of the land, and the vessel, full of despairing mariners, is tossed on their surface; sometimes passing through the clouds, while the thunder roars around, and God shooteth forth his sharp and fiery darts." After these descriptions, which are so extended as to distract the attention from the principal subject, and in themselves of very difficult interpretation, the whole is thus summed up:

Hwilum under eorðan,	Sometimes beneath the earth,
Hwilum yða sceal	Sometimes beneath the waves shall I
Heah under hniȝan;	Deeply descend;
Hwilum holm ufan	Sometimes above the sea
Streamas styrȝe;	And the streams I move;
Hwilum stiȝe up	Sometimes I ascend

Wolcn fare:	The heaven in my course:
Wreȝe wide fere	I wander a wide journey
Swift and swiƿ feorm.	Swift and very firm.
Saȝa hwæt ic hatte;	Say what I am named;
Oƿƿe hwa mec ræreƿ	Or who exciteth me
Ðon ic restan ne mot?	When I may not rest?
Oƿƿe hwa mec stæƿƿe	Or who stayeth me
Ðon ic still beom?	When I should be still?

Others of the ænigmata appear to relate to the Christian Church, according to the opinion of Hickes, who has inserted transcripts from some of them in the beginning of his Icelandic Grammar, on account of the Runic characters, which are interspersed in them in several places, and certainly stand for entire words, of which they are the initial letters. His opinion is formed from the attributes ascribed to their mysterious subject; such as, being appointed by Christ to encounter warfare; speaking in many tongues; giving wisdom to the simple; rejoicing in persecution; found by the worthy; and received by those who are washed in the laver, &c.: but they even exceed the usual obscurity of these productions.

The ensuing examples will probably more than satisfy the reader as to those of a miscellaneous character.

(Leaf 108.)

Is ƿis middan ȝeard	This mid earth
Missenlicum	Is in various
Wisum ȝewlitegad,	Fashions adorned,
Wrætum ȝefrætwad.	And with wonders decorated.
Siƿum sellic ic seah	I saw a thing strange in its ways
Searo hweorfan,	Curiously to move,
Grindan wiƿ ȝreoto	Revolving with clamour
Giellende faran,	And stridulously proceeding.
Næfde sellicu wiht	This wonderful thing had not

Syne ne folme,	Sinews nor limbs,
Exle ne earmas;	Shoulders nor arms;
Sceal on anum fet	On its feet alone must
Searo ceap swifan,	The curious creature revolve,
Swiðe feran	Stoutly proceed
Faran ofer feldas.	And fare over the fields.
Hæfde fela ribba;	It had many ribs;
Muð wæs on middan;	Its mouth was in the midst;
Moncynne nyt;	It is useful to mankind;
Fere foddar-welan	The carriage of the wealth of food
Folc-scipe dreogeð.	It performeth for the people.
Wist in wigeð,	It carrieth in provisions,
And werum gieldeð	And yieldeth to men
Gaful geara gehwam.	The tribute of every year.
Ðæs ðe guman	. . . . .
Beneað rice	. . . . .
And heane rece.	. . . . .
Gif ðu conne wisworda gleaw,	If thou understandest the skill of wise words,
Hwæt sio wiht sie?	What may this thing be?

Unless this be a waggon or cart, the editor must confess himself not sufficiently "skilful in wise words" to decypher its occult allusions.

Wær sæt æt wine	A man sat at wine
Mid his wifa	With his wife
And his twegen suna	And his two sons
And his twa dohtor.	And his two daughters,
Swa se gesweostor	Also his sister
And hyre suna twegen;	And her two sons;
Freolicu frum bearn	The noble patriarch
Fæder wæs ðærinne	And father was there

Ðara æðelinga æghwæðeres,	Of each one of these men,
Mid eam and nefa.	With the uncle and nephews.
Ealra wæron fife	In all there were five
Eorla and idesa	Of men and women
Insittendra.	There sitting.

Adam, Eve, two of their sons, and one daughter, appear to be the five persons intended. Eve being reckoned in the several relations which may be attributed to her (as the wife, the sister, and the daughter of Adam), the apparent excess of numbers and complication of kindred admit a ready explanation.

Ic eom mare ðon	I am greater than
Ðæs middangeard,	This mid earth,
Læsse ðon hond wyrm;	Less than a worm;
Leohtre ðon mona,	Lighter than the moon,
Swiftre ðon sunne;	Swifter than the sun;
Sæs sind ealle	All the seas,
Flodas on fæðmum;	The floods, are in my embrace;
And ðas foldan	And the lap of this earth,
Bearm grene wongas;	The green plains;
Grundum ic hrine,	I touch the abysses,
Helle under hnige;	I descend beneath hell;
Heofenes ofer stige,	I ascend above the heavens,
Wuldres eðel;	The abode of glory;
Wide ræce	I reach widely
Ofer engla eard.	Over the country of the angels.
Eorthan gefylle,	I fill the globe,
Ealdne middangeard,	The ancient mid earth,
And mere streamas	And the sea streams
Side, mid mec selfum.	Wide, with myself.
Saga hwæt ic hatte.	Say what I am named.

The omnipresent power of the Deity, comprehending at once the most minute and most vast portions of his creation, is obviously here intended.

The obscurity attaching itself to much of this part of the MS. will be rendered most conspicuous by the following specimen of corrupt Latinity, which appears absolutely unintelligible.

Mirum videtur mihi—lupus ab agno tenetur—
Obcurrit agnus et capit viscera lupi—
Dum starem et mirarem vidi gloriam magnam—
Du̅ lupi stantes ex tertium tribul
IIII *pedes habebant cum septem occulis*[1] *videbant.*

It seems probable that the two first lines may be intended for accentual hexameters: the fourth line is apparently corrupted; the contraction beginning it is perhaps *diversi*.

Intermixed with these ænigmata, we find towards the latter part of the volume other poems, religious and miscellaneous.

1. The first of these is the complaint of an exile separated from his lord, beginning "Ic ðis ȝied wrece." As being in a style of which there is perhaps scarcely another original Saxon example extant, it has appeared to the editor to claim publication; and he has therefore added it to the following specimens.

2. "Þæt ȝelimpan sceal," &c.—A poem on the duty of reflecting on the destruction of the world by fire, the torments of hell, general retribution, &c.

3. "Wille ðonne forȝieldan ȝæsta Dryhten."—A continuation of the same subject.

4. "Aȝe mec se ælmihta God."—A prayer for pardon.

5. "Onȝunnon him onuhton, æðelcunde mægð." The Marys went at dawn to search the sepulchre where the body of our Lord

[1] Ita MS.

had been deposited; but they found him not, for he had descended to liberate the captive souls in hell. St. John (the Baptist) had previously declared to those captives the promise of Christ to effect their deliverance; and, while closing his address to them, beholds the fulfilment of that which he had proclaimed in the triumphant entrance of the Redeemer. Adam then congratulates Eve, and breaks forth into exclamations of praise to Christ, to Gabriel who announced, to Mary who bore him, to Jerusalem, to Jordan, &c.

6. "Wel biŏ ŏam eorle."—Charity covereth a multitude of sins.

7. "Saȝa me hwæt ŏær. weorudes wære."—A short and mutilated fragment on the destruction of Pharoah's host in the Red Sea.

8. Metrical paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer.

9. "Gefeoh nu on ferŏe, and to frofre ȝeŏeoh. Dryhtne ŏinum."—A short poem on religious comfort.

After this, from the 122nd page, the MS. is much mutilated to the end: the subjects appear to be principally ænigmatical; but their obscurity is rendered hopeless, from the imperfect state in which they occur. One of these fragments, however, is of a descriptive nature, the subject being a ruined city. As it possesses more than ordinary merit, it has been selected for publication among the following specimens.

I.

HYMN ON THE DAY OF JUDGEMENT.

Book II. Section 2.

(*From the late Author's MS. Lectures on Anglo-Saxon Poetry.*)

THE general subject of this poem has been accurately stated by Wanley: he has omitted, however, to mention that it appears to be a fragment of some larger composition; for it commences thus

abruptly with what I should apprehend to be a song of the attendant angels:

[1] THUS in glad triumph o'er the' ætherial vault
To Zion's holy towers, with this fair pomp
Of Heaven's all-glorious sons we bear our Lord.

The poet now appears to return to his narrative.

[2] Him first and noblest and his regal state
They see, and gaze with rapture. Instant now
He bids each nation of the peopled earth,
A countless host, to judgement, that each soul
May taste the portion of her earthly deeds.

The next paragraph affording a good example of the peculiar construction of the Anglo-Saxon poetical sentence, I have rendered it line for line into a Latin dimeter Iambic.

---

[1] We mid ðyslice	*Nos cum hujusmodi*
Ðreate willaþ	*Triumpho volumus*
Ofer heofona ȝehlidu	*Super cœli tecta*
Hlaford ferȝan	*Dominum ferre*
To ðære beorhtan byriȝ	*Ad illam splendidam civitatem*
Mid ðas bliðan ȝedryt	*Cum hâc hilari turmâ*
Ealra siȝe-bearna.	*Omnium victoriæ filiorum.*
[2] Ðæt seleste and æðeleste	*Illum primum et nobilissimum*
Ðæȝe her onstariaþ,	*Illi hic intuentur,*
And in frofre ȝeseoþ	*Et cum solatio vident*
Frætwum blican.	*Ornamentis coruscare.*
Wile eft swa ðeah	*Vult continuò tamen*
Eorðan mæȝðe	*Terræ gentes*
Sylfa ȝesecan	*Ipse convocare*
Side herȝe,	*Immensam (latam) coronam,*
And ðoñ ȝedeman	*Et tunc judicare*
Dæda ȝehwylce	*De factis quibusque*
Ðara ða ȝefremedon	*Illis quæ fecerunt*
Folc under roderum.	*Homines sub cœlo.*

Sedebat illic filius
Tremente cœli fornice,
Rex angelorum altissimus
Supra ætheris fastigium,
Tutela devotæ gregis,
Tunc aucta spes fidelium,
In urbe sanctâ gaudium
Præsente tandem filio.

I shall add only a few of the lines immediately following this passage in English.

[2] Then went they forth to Zion: he their Lord,
High in that city of his holiness,
Heals every sorrow; there might they behold
Full face to face their Saviour and their God.
The crowd of mourners there forgot their pain,

---

[1] Ða wæs wuldres weard
Wolcnum bifenzum,
Heah enzla cyninz
Ofer hrofas upp,
Halizra helm,
Hyht wæs zeniwad,
Blis in burzum,
Ðurh ðæs beornes cyme.

[2] Gewitan him ða zonzan	*Discedebant tunc ire*
To Hierusalem;	*In Hierosolymam;*
Hæleð hyze-rofe	*Sanat (ille) magnanimus*
In ða halzan burz	*In eâ sanctâ civitate*
Geomor mode;	*Tristitiam;*
Ðonan hi God nyhst	*Exinde illi Deum proximum*
Upstizende	*Resurrectum*
Eazum sezun,	*Oculis vident,*
Hyra wilzifan.	*Ipsorum benefactorem.*
Ðær wæs wofes hrinz	*Illic erat lamentationis circulus*
Torne bitolden,	*Irâ amotâ,*

And love glow'd quickening at their inmost soul
Responsive to their master's: there abide
In that fair citadel the glorious chiefs
Of them whom God hath called, faithful known
The servants of his justice. So decreed
Ere yet he rose from earth their heavenly King.

The remainder of the poem is almost wholly occupied with nearly similar descriptions of the joy of the angels and the spirits of the just at the presence of the Redeemer; mention is then made of the delivery of the wicked to the custody of dæmons; and the author concludes with admonishing his hearers to reflect upon the eternity of happiness or misery which the Almighty had placed at their choice.

II.

HYMN OF THANKSGIVING.

P. 16. Book II. Section 3.

THIS, which appears far superior in point of poetical merit to the preceding specimen, is erroneously described by Wanley as

Wæs seo treów lufu	*Erat ille verus amor*
Hat at heortan,	*Fervens in corde,*
Hreder innan weoll	*Velocius æstuabat intus*
Bearn breost sefa.	*Filii pectus.*
Bidon ealle ðære	*Habitant omnes illic*
Ðegnas ðrymfulle	*Ductores gloriosi*
Ðeodnes ȝehata	*Domini electorum*
In ðære torhtan byrig,	*In eâ gloriosâ civitate,*
Tyr riht ðaȝen;	*Dei justi ministri;*
Swa himself bibead	*Sicut ipse jussit*
Swegles aȝend	*Cœli possessor*
Ær ðon upstige.	*Priusquam resurrexit.*

Carmen de mundi creatione. It is, in fact, a hymn or ode of thanksgiving; and the creation is mentioned only towards its commencement as one topic of admiration and gratitude. I have in this instance deviated from the method hitherto observed, and adopted for my translation the form of the irregular ode: by this means I have been enabled to preserve more faithfully than I could perhaps have done in blank verse the abrupt transitions of the original: by not confining the metre to the stated recurrence of any particular system, the regularity of construction (if that indeed be essential to the ode) has been sacrificed to the desire of presenting, as far as it was in my power, a faithful transcript of the original.

[1] BEFITS it well that man should raise
To Heaven the song of thanks and praise,
For all the gifts a bounteous God
From age to age hath still bestow'd.
The kindly seasons' temper'd reign,
The plenteous store, the rich domain
Of this mid-earth's extended plain,
All that his creatures' wants could crave,
His boundless power and mercy gave.

---

[1] Ðæt is ðæs wyrðe — *Hoc est operæ pretium*
Ðæt ðe werðeode — *Ut humanum genus*
Secgan Dryhtne ðonc — *Dicat Domino gratias*
Durhðа gehwylcre — (*Ob*) *beneficia singula*
Ðe us sið and ær — *Quæ nobis nunc et olim*
Simle gefremede, — *Sæpe intulit,*
Ðurh monigfealdra — *Per multiplicis*
Mægna geryno; — *Potestatis mysterium;*
He us æt giefed — *Ille nobis cibum addidit,*
And æhta-sped, — *Et possessionum gazas,*
Welan ofer wid lond, — *Divitias super latam terram,*
And weder liðe. — *Et tempestatem mitem.*
Under swegles hleo, — *Sub cœli umbraculo,*
Sunne and Mona, — *Sol et Luna,*

Noblest of yon bright train that sparkle high,
Beneath the vaulted sky,
The Sun by day, the silver'd Moon by night,
Twin fires of heaven, dispense *for Man* their useful light.
Where'er on earth his lot be sped,
For Man the clouds their richness shed,
In gentler dews descend, or opening pour
Wide o'er the land their fertilizing shower.

From these subjects of praise and gratitude, the poet rises to the sublimer topic of our redemption. The turn of the following passage in this part of the hymn is by no means devoid of spirit. "The Saviour (says the bard) delivered us from the anger of the Father."

[2] Not such the doom
Our sorrowing fathers heard of old,
The doom that in dread accents told
Of Heaven's avenging might, and woe, and wrath to come.
"Lo I have set thee on earth's stubborn soil
With grief and stern necessity to strive,

Æðelast tunʒla,	*Nobilissima sidera,*
Eallum scinað,	*Omnibus nitent,*
Heofon candelle,	*Cœli lampades,*
Hæleðum on eorðan.	*Viris in terra.*
Dreoseð deaw,	*Cadit ros,*
And ren duʒuðe	*Et pluvia bona*
Weccað to feorh nere	*Excitatur longè latéque*
Fira cynne,	*Humano generi,*
Iecað eorð welan.	*Auget terræ divitias.*
[2] Se ðe ær sunʒen	*Qui olim cecinit*
Ðurh yrne hyʒe	*Per iratum animum*
Ældum to sorʒe:	*Senioribus (hominibus) in dolorem:*
"Ic ðec ofer	"*Ego te super*
Eorðan ʒeworhte;	*Terram feci;*
On ðære ðu scealt	*In eâ debes*

To wear thy days in unavailing toil,
The ceaseless sport of torturing fiends to live.
Thence to thy dust to turn, the worm's repast,
And dwell where penal flames through endless ages last."

The subject is continued through the greater part of the poem. In one passage the mission of our Saviour is metaphorically described as the flight of a bird.

[1] Wing'd by Heaven's eternal might,
Swift he sped his eagle flight,
Borne by the Spirit's checkless force,
Strong he shaped his onward course.
To the foes of God alone
Dark was the course, the flight unknown.

The conclusion of this poem will perhaps be found to possess sufficient merit to apologize for transcribing it at length. It will

---

Yrmðum lifgan,	(*In*) *miseriis vivere,*
Wunian in gewinne,	*Versari in laboribus,*
And wræce dreogan	*Et pœnam pati*
Feondum to hroðer,	(*A*) *diabolis in pectore,*
Fus leoðgalan:	*Promptis hominum inimicis:*
And to ðære ilcan	*Et in eandem* (*terram*)
Scealt eft geweorðan	*Debes citò reverti*
Wyrmum aweallen.	*Vermibus scaturire.*
Ðonan wites fyr	*Tunc pœnæ ignem*
Of ðære eorðan	*Ex hâc terrâ* (*amotus*)
Scealt eft gesecan."	*Debes citò quærere."* [*bilis*
Hwæt us ðis æðeling	*Quam* (*maledictionem*) *nobis ille no-*
Yðre gefremede.	*Procul fecit* (*avertit*).
[1] In ðære godcundan	*In divini*
Gæstes strengðu	*Spiritûs potentiâ*
Wæs ðæs fugles flyht,	*Erat hujus alitis volatus,*
Feondum on eorðan	(*Ab*) *inimicis in terrâ*
Dyrne and degol.	*Occultus et absconditus.*

doubtless remind the classical reader of the exquisite choral song of Sophocles[1], commencing *Πολλα τα δεινα*: and the fine moral reflection with which it terminates would not have disgraced the composition even of the most philosophic poet of antiquity.

[2] Thrice holy He,
The Spirit Son of Deity!
He call'd from nothing into birth
Each fair production of the teeming earth;
He bids the faithful and the just aspire
To join in endless bliss heaven's angel choir.
His love bestows on human kind
Each varied excellence of mind.
To some his Spirit-gift affords
The power and mastery of words:
So may the wiser sons of earth proclaim,
In speech and measured song, the glories of his name.

---

[1] Sophoclis *Antigone.*

[2] Se ðis world ȝescop,	*Ille hanc terram creavit,*
Godes ȝæst-sunu,	*Dei spiritualis filius,*
And us ȝiefe sealde	*Et nobis dona obsignavit*
Uppe mid enȝlum	*Suprà cum angelis*
Ece staðelas.	*Æternas sedes.*
And eac monigfealde	*Et etiam multiplicem*
Modes snyttru	*Animi prudentiam*
Seow and sette	*Insevit et posuit*
Geond sefan monna.	*In pectoribus hominum.*
Sumum wordlaðe	*Nonnullis orationis vocem*
Wise sendeð	*Sapientem mittit*
On his modes ȝemynd,	*In ipsorum animi mentem,*
Ðurh his muðes ȝæst,	*Per spiritum oris ejus,*
Æðele onȝiet.	*Nobilem intelligentiam.*
Se mæȝ eal fela	*Hoc possunt universi*
Singan and secȝan	*Canere et prædicare*
Ðam bið snyttru-cræft	*Quibus est solertia*
Bifolen on ferðe.	*Insita in animo.*

Some the tuneful hand may ply,
And loud before the list'ning throng
Wake the glad harp to harmony,
Or bid the trump of joy its swelling note prolong.
To these he gave Heaven's righteous laws to scan,
Or trace the courses of the starry host;
To these the writer's learned toil to plan;
To these the battle's pride and victor's boast,
Where in the well-fought field the war-troop pour
Full on the wall of shields the arrow's flickering shower.
Some can speed the dart afar,
Some forge the steely blade of war,

Sum mæg fingrum wel	*Nonnulli possunt digitis benè*
Hlude fore hælcðum	*Sonoram ante nobiles*
Hearpan stirgan,	*Citharam excitare,*
Gleobeam gretan.	*Gaudii tubam inflare.*
Sum mæg godcunde	*Nonnulli possunt divinam*
Reccan ryhte æ.	*Pandere justam legem.*
Sum mæg ryne tungla	*Nonnulli possunt cursum astrorum*
Secgan side gesceaft.	*Dicere latè constitutum.*
Sum mæg learolice	*Nonnulli possunt doctè*
Word cwide writan.	*Verbum dictum scribere.*
Sumum wiges sped	*Quibusdam victoriæ potentiam*
Giefed æt guðe,	*Dedit in bello,*
Ðon gargetrum	*Ubi exercitus*
Ofer scild-hreadan	*Super clypeorum testudines*
Sceotend sendeð	*Jaculans mittit*
Flacor flangeweore.	*Volucrem sagittæ operam.*
Sum mæg fromlice	*Aliqui possunt fortiter*
Ofer sealtne sæ	*Super salsum mare,*
Sund-wudu drifan,	*Pelagi lignum [navem] agere,*
Hreran holm-ðræce.	*(Ut) attingat oceani vim.*
Sum mæg heanne beam	*Aliqui possunt altum telum*
Stælgne gestigan.	*Chalybe prætentum attollere.*
Sum mæg styled sweord	*Aliqui possunt ferreum ensem*
Wæpen gewyrcan.	*Telum fabricare.*

Some o'er ocean's stormy tide
The swift-wing'd ship can fearless guide.
Some in sweet and solemn lays
The full-toned voice of melody can raise.
So Heaven's high Lord each gift of strength or sense
Vouchsafes to man, impartial to dispense:
And of the power that from his Spirit flows
On each a share, oñ none the whole bestows;
Lest favour'd thus beyond their mortal state,
Their pride involve them in the sinner's fate.

Sum con wonza bezonz	*Aliqui possunt ora exercere*
Wezas wiđ zielle.	. . . . . *elatâ voce.*
Swa se Waldend us	*Utpote Regnator nobis*
God-bearn on zrundum	*Dei filius in terrâ*
His ziefe bryttad.	*Ipsius dona distribuit.*
Nyle he ænzum anum	*Noluit ipse aliquos*
Ealle zefyllan	*Penitùs replere*
Gæstes snyttru,	*Spiritus prudentiâ,*
Đy læs him zielp sceđe	*Ne illos arrogantia perdat*
Đurh his anes cræft	*Per propriam artem*
Ofer ođre ford.	*Super alios homines.*

It will be seen that I have not entirely translated the passage

Sum con wonza bezonz
Wezas wid zielle.

Indeed I do not clearly perceive its construction, unless wonza wezas are to be taken together as "the way or passage of the mouth."

III.

THE PHŒNIX.

Leaf 55. Book VI. Section 1.

THIS poem is remarkable as being a translation or rather paraphrase of a Latin original still in existence; the "*Phœnix*" (attributed by some to Lactantius, and printed at the end of the Variorum edition of Claudian) commencing

"*Est locus in primo felix Oriente remotus.*"

Its Anglo-Saxon imitator has converted the classical tale of the eastern bird into an allegory of the resurrection. Many other fables of the heathen mythology were similarly applied and interpreted in a religious sense by the authors of the middle ages. Of this the celebrated *Gesta Romanorum* afford more than one example. And we find in the catalogue of the books formerly bestowed by Humphrey Duke of Gloucester upon the library which he founded in this university, the whole of Ovid's Metamorphoses thus "*moralized,*" as the writers of those days expressed it.

This taste for allegorizing the beautiful fictions of classical poetry was perhaps first introduced by the later fathers of the christian church. The one now under consideration, as it is among the most obvious, so it was probably among the earliest applications of this nature. "*Doceat* (says St. Ambrose as quoted in the *Speculum Naturale* of Vincent of Beauvais) *nos hæc avis exemplo resürrectionem credere, quæ sine exemplo et sine rationis præceptione sibi insignia resurrectionis instaurat.*" The Saxon Paraphrast has far exceeded his original in prolixity, a fault perhaps almost inseparable from the poetical system adopted by our ancestors. The present extract is taken from the commencement of the poem, and exhibits a description of the island which the Phœnix was supposed to inhabit. The paraphrast has by no means scrupulously followed the succession of ideas of his original.

[1]OFT have I heard that eastward, far from hence,
The noblest land that song may tell of lies.
Not by the countless host of men that hold
This middle earth, that country may be known.
Heaven hath removed it from the sinner's eye.
Fair is that land, with every pleasure blest;
In the sea's bosom, rich of odorous sweets,
The lonely islet stands. Divine was he,
And wondrous in his sovereign intellect,
The Artificer that gave that land its place.
There to his righteous servants stand unveil'd

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[1] Hæbbe ic ȝefruȝnen — *Ego audivi*
Ðætte is feor heonan — *Quòd est procul hinc*
East-dælum on — *In oriente quædam*
Æðelast londa — *Nobilissima regio*
Firum ȝefræȝe. — *Viris cognita* (*vel* celebrata).
Nis se foldan-sceat — *Non est ea terræ plaga*
Ofer middanȝeard — *Per medium orbem*
Monȝum ȝefæere — *Multis frequentata*
Folc aȝendra; — *Populi* (terram) *possidentis;*
Aç he afyrred is — *Sed illa remota est*
Ðurh Meotudes meaht — *Per Creatoris potentiam*
Man fremendum. — *Ab iniquè facientibus.*
Wlitiȝ is se wonȝ — *Splendida est ea regio*
Eall wynnum ȝeblissad; — *Omnibus deliciis beata;*
In roðam sæ-ȝreatum — *In rubro oceani sinu*
Foldan stencum — *Terræ odoribus*
Æmlic is ðæt iȝlond. — *Sola est ea insula.*
Æðele se Wyrhta, — *Nobilis* (fuit) *Opifex,*
Modiȝ meahtum spediȝ, — *Intellectuali potentiâ alacris,*
Se ða moldan ȝesette: — *Qui eam regionem statuit!*
Ðær' bið oft open — *Illic est sæpe reclusum*

In clearest light the joys of heaven's domain.
Beauteous in sooth that land beneath the sky
Spreads its green woodlands: there nor rain, nor snow,
Nor the frost's fetters, nor the blast of fire,
Nor hail swift falling, nor the hoary rime,
Nor the sun's parching heat, nor winter's cold,
May ought intrude; but firm amid the wave,
Still clad in verdure, stands that blessed realm.
Nor hill nor mountain there, nor stony cliff
(Such steeps as those our earthly mansion bears),
High towering rise; nor upland's long ascent,

Eadgum togeanes	*Sanctis obviam*
Onhliden hleoðra	*Revelatum clarè*
Wyn heofon rices.	*Gaudium cœlestis regni.*
Huru ðæt is wynsum wong,	*Verè ea est læta regio,*
Wealdas grene,	*Sylvis virescens,*
Scane under roderum.	*Pulchra sub cœlo.*
Ne mæg ðær ren, ne snaw,	*Neque potest* (dominari) *illic pluvia* [*aut nix,*
Ne forstes fræst,	*Neque hyemis gelu,*
Ne fyres blæst,	*Neque ignis afflatus,*
Ne hægles hryre,	*Neque grandinis impetus,*
Ne hrimes dryre,	*Neque pruinæ rigor,*
Ne sunnan hætu,	*Neque solis ardor,*
Ne sin caldu,	*Neque noxium frigus,*
Ne warm weder,	*Neque torrida tempestas,*
Ne winter scur.	*Neque hyemis imber.*
Ac se wong seomað	*Sed regio permanet*
Eadig on sund	*Beata in oceano*
Blostmum geblowen.	*Flosculis germinans.*
Beorgas ðær ne muntas	(Nec) *colles ibi nec montes*
Steape ne stondað,	*Præcipites stant,*
Ne stan-clifu	*Neque saxorum clivi*
Heah hlifiað,	*Ardui assurgunt,*
Swa her mid us,	*(Sicuti hìc apud nos)*

Nor dell, nor vale is there, nor rocky cave.
Mars not that blessed isle unseemly ought,
But full of joys it flowereth under heaven.

The whole poem occupies ten leaves, and is divided into sections; the first of these (the only one which my time permitted me to transcribe) contains about one hundred and seventy verses, and ends thus,

Đær se halȝa stenc	*Illic sanctus odor*
Wunaƀ geond wyn lond	*Pervadit gaudii terram,*
Đæt onwended ne biƀ	*Quæ accessa non est*
Æfre to ealdre	*Unquam hominibus*
Ær ƀon endiȝe	*Priusquam finiat* (Phœnix)
Frod fyrn ȝeweorc	*Provectior ætate opus*
Se hit frymƀe ȝescop.	*Quæ prima fabricavit.*

Exclusively of its general value as a specimen of the poetical language of our forefathers, and the curious circumstance of its having been drawn from a source which, though not of the purest

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Ne dene, ne dalu,	*Neque vallis, neque convallis,*
Ne dun-scrafu,	*Neque montium spelunca,*
Hlæwas, ne hlincas,	(Neque) *tumuli, nec aggeres,*
Ne ƀær hleonaƀ	*Neque illi inest* (incumbit)
Oo unsmeƀes wiht.	*Ulla aspera res.*
Ac se æƀele fold	*Sed nobilis regio*
Wridaƀ under wolcnum	*Germinat sub cœlo*
Wynnum ȝeblowen.	*Gaudiis scaturiens.*

It will immediately be perceived that in the lines printed in italics the author has, besides the usual alliteration which is still carefully observed, adopted the additional ornament of rime, a circumstance of by no means common occurrence in Anglo-Saxon Poetry. Mr. Turner has adduced a few examples of it, but I know of no source which would afford so many, or of such length, as the Exeter MS. The principal of these are given in the Introductory Essay on Saxon metre.

age, must yet be considered as classical[1], this long composition probably contains but little that would be interesting to the antiquary[2]. This, however, the very slight inspection which I was enabled to give the remaining sections certainly does not authorize me to affirm from my own knowledge.

IV.

GNOMIC POEM.

Book IX. Section 4.

As a specimen of this class I have to offer the following paraphrase of a part of the fourth poem of the ninth book, which, though not altogether literal, will yet perhaps serve to convey a pretty accurate idea of the general tenor of the composition.

[3] AGAIN shall summer shine, again
Shall winter weave his icy chain;

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[1] This was seldom directly the case with the poetry of the middle ages. The Boethius of Alfred is a splendid exception; and a singular one of later date (about 1200) occurs in the Digby MS. noticed by Warton (MS. Digb. 86). It is entitled *Le Regret de Maximien*, and appears to be an English translation from a French paraphrase (for it is too loose and inaccurate to be called strictly a version) of an Elegy by Maximianus, falsely attributed by its earlier editors to Cornelius Gallus.

[2] It might perhaps be added that the concluding lines of the poem are written alternately in Saxon and Latin (as may be seen by reference to Wanley's Catalogue). This has been employed in the Introduction to the present volume, as serving in part to determine the nature of the metrical system adopted by our ancestors.

[3] Forst sceal freosan;	*Pruina concrescet;*
Fyr wudu meltan;	*Ignis lignum dissolvet;*
Eorðe ȝrowan;	*Terra vigescet;*
Is bryċȝian;	*Glacies confringetur;*

Still shall fire's rapacious power
The forest's goodly growth devour;
Still for commerce, or for war,
The wave shall bear thy keel afar.
But One through all their varied range
Bids matter rise and seasons change;
One reigns supreme in heaven and earth,
The God who gave creation birth.

Deep the gulph that hides the dead,
Long and dark the way they tread;
The wealth that swell'd their earthly pride
Kindred or strangers shall divide;
While breathless in the silent tomb
They wait the last dread day of doom.

Wæter helm weȝan,	*Aqua navem* (ulmum) *subvehet,*
Wundrum lucan	*Mirè ut includat*
Eorðan ciðas;	*Terræ fructus;*
An sceal anbindan	*Unus exolvet*
Forstes fetre,	*Pruinæ catenas,*
Fela mealhtiȝ God.	*Maximè potens Deus.*
Winter sceal ȝeweorpan;	*Hyems discedet;*
Weder eft cuman;	*Tempestas rursus veniet;*
Sumor sweȝle hat;	*Æstivus æther calidus erit;*
Sund unstille.	*Mare irrequietum.*

Deop deada wæȝ	*Alta erit mortuorum via*
Dyme bið lenȝest;	*Tenebrosa et longissima;*
Holen sceal in æled [1]	. . . . .
Yrfe ȝedæled	*Possessiones dispartientur*
Deades monnes;	*Defuncti hominis;*
Dom bið se last.	*Judicium erit ultimum.*

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[1] I cannot satisfactorily explain this line.

The king shall woo some royal fair,
His sceptre and his bed to share;
In bracelets bright and cups of gold
Her ample dowry shall be told:
Both beloved and praised shall be,
For liberal hand and largess free.

The indefatigable Hickes has noticed in the chapter on Saxon poetry, inserted in his Thesaurus the resemblance which the above composition bears to the lines appended to the Metrical Calendar or Menology, which he has printed with a literal translation. From this poem a few extracts are here subjoined as further illustrating this class of compositions, the character of which cannot be better expressed than in the words of Hickes himself:— "In eo mores hominum, affectus animantium, et inanimatorum naturæ, res itidem aliûs generis civiles, ethicæ, theologicæ describuntur in gnomis et sententiis *ασυνδετοις*." "Absque omni planè connexu," he adds, in a repetition of nearly the same character introduced some few pages after the former. I have selected from different parts of this poem a few of the more striking paragraphs.

[1] WHERE holds the king his seat of power,
The work of earth's industrious sons,
Far is seen the strong-walled tower,
A mighty mass of well-knit stones.

Cyninȝ sceal mid ceape	*Rex cum pretio*
Cwene ȝebicȝan,	*Reginam redimet,*
Bunum and beaȝum;	*Vasis et armillis;*
Bu scealon ærest	*Ambo eximiè*
Geofum ȝod wesan.	*Muneribus se largos præstabunt.*
[1] CYNING sceal rice healdan;	*Gubernabit rex regnum;*
Ceastra beoð feorran ȝesyne,	*Urbes e longinquo spectabuntur,*
Orðanc enta ȝeweorc	*Ingeniosa gigantum opera*
Ða ðe on ðisse eorðan syndon	(*Qui in hâc terrâ degunt*)
Wrætlic weall stana ȝeweorc.	*Mœnibus affabrè factis.*

Loudest rolls the thunder's voice,
Swiftest flies the wind's light breeze,
Purest far are heaven's high joys,
Firmest stands what Heaven decrees.

Good with evil, young with old,
Darkness still shall strive with light;
Armed host with foeman bold
Still shall wage unceasing fight.

The man of pure and guileless heart
Yields soonest to the traitor's art;
But he whose long-protracted age
Hath taught him to beware is sage.

Wind byð on lyfte swiftust,	*Ventus in aere est ocyssimum,*
Ðunar byð ðrazum hludast,	*Tonitrus fragor est maximè sonorus,*
Ðrymmas syndan Cristes myccle,	*Ingens est majestas Christi,*
Wyrd byð swiðost.	*Fatum est fortissimum.*

God sceal wyð yfele,	*Bonum adversus malum,*
Geozoð sceal wið ylde,	*Juventus adversus senectum,*
Lif sceal wið deaðe,	*Vita contra mortem,*
Leoht sceal wið ðystrum,	*Lux contra tenebras,*
Fyrd wið fyrde,	*Exercitus adversus exercitum,*
Feond wið oðrum,	*Inimicus contra inimicum,*
Lað wið laðe,	*Qui odit contra quem odio habuerit,*
Ymb land sacan,	*Ubique contendent*
Synne stælan.	*Et semper se obfirmabunt.*

Soð bið swicolost,	*Verus facillimè decipitur,*
. . . . .	. . . . .
And zomol snoterost	*Et senex sapientissimus*
Fyru zearum frod	*Anteactis annis prudens*
Se ðe ær fela zebideð.	*Qui pridem multa est expertus.*

V.

THE SOUL'S COMPLAINT AGAINST THE BODY.

Book X. Section 1. Leaf 98.

THIS may be regarded as the prototype (in our own language at least) of a very numerous tribe of poems, the title of which will be well remembered by all those who are conversant with our earlier literature; "*Dialogus inter Corpus et Animam.*"

The composition immediately under our consideration is, however, scarcely entitled to the name of a dialogue. It consists only of a short exordium and one speech, in which the soul is represented as upbraiding the body with the sins to which it was accessory during their union. As no part of the composition appears to possess any peculiar claims to the merit of poetical beauty, I have translated only a few lines from its commencement. They contain (if I have rightly interpreted the passage, which is somewhat obscure) one singular instance of the popular superstitions of their age, relating to the time during which the soul was permitted to revisit the earth after its separation from the body.

[1] BEFITS it well that man should deeply weigh
His soul's last journey; how he then may fare
When death comes on him, and breaks short in twain

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[1] HURU ðæs behofað — *Maximè hoc oportet*
Hæleða æghwylc — *Mortalium unumquemque*
Ðæt he his sawle-siðð — *Ut ille ejus animæ iter*
Sylfa bewitige, — *Secum meditetur,*
Hu ðæt bið deoplic. — *Quàm illud sit longinquum* (altum).
Ðonne se deað cymeð, — *Quum mors advenit,*
Asundrað ða sibbe — *Abrumpit copulam*

The bond that held his flesh and spirit link'd:
Long is it thence ere at the hand of Heaven
The spirit shall reap or joy or punishment,
E'en as she did in this her earthly frame.
For ere the seventh night of death hath past,

Ða ðe ær somad	*Quâ olim juncta*
Wæron lic and sawle.	*Fuerunt corpus et anima.*
Longʒ bið siððan	*Diu est exinde*
Ðæt se ʒæst nimeð	*Quòd spiritus accipit*
Æt Gode sylfum	*Apud Deum ipsum*
Swa wite swa wuldor,	*Aut pœnam aut gloriam,*
Swa him in worulde ær,	*Sicut ipsi in mundo prius,*
Æfne ðæt eorðsæt,	*Etiam (in) illo vase terrestri,*
Ær ʒeworhte.	*Olim factum est.*
Sceal se ʒæst cuman,	*Spiritus veniet*
Gehðum[1] hremiʒ,	*(In) statione querulus,*
Syle ymb seofon niht,	——— *circiter (post) septimanam,*

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[1] The sense of this clause is by no means clear to me. The word 'ʒyhðum,' which occurs once in Cædmon (p. 74, l. 4,) is supposed by Lye (Suppl.) to be derived from 'ʒe-hyht,' *refugium.* 'Giht,' or 'ʒyte,' however, appears in the compounds 'ʒebed-ʒiht,' *bed-time*—'sunʒiht,' *the solstice*—'ʒyte-sal,' *an apartment.* Its signification in these compounds and in the passage of Cædmon above mentioned seems to be *tempus, mansio,* or *statio.* If 'ʒehðum' be taken in the latter of these senses, it may be understood as construed in the Latin version; if in the former, it may signify *aliquando.* Should the word 'ʒeht,' or 'ʒyht,' be allowed to have signified *time* (as it must if 'ʒebed-ʒyht' be correctly translated *conticinium—vid.* Lye *in voce*), it will afford us a more plausible etymology of the adverb *Yet* than the one proposed by Mr. Horne Tooke. The derivative adverbs 'ʒates' (existing in *algates*) and 'ʒehðum' will then appear to be formed from the oblique cases by the same analogy as 'whiles' and 'whilom' from 'hwil,' *tempus.* The old Teutonic 'Zit,' *tempus* (*vid.* Schilter's Glossary *in voce*) may be derived from the same source. The following word, 'hremiʒ,' I have ventured to render *querulus,* or *stridulus* (from 'hrem,' *vocifera*), rather than *compos,* as Lye has given it. The only meaning I can discover for 'syle' is *basis* (*fundamentum,* 'syll'). I suspect it in this place to be a mistake of the transcriber for 'sylf' or 'sylfe.'

Ghastly and shrieking shall that spirit come,
The soul to find its body. Restless thus
(Unless high Heaven first work the end of all things)
An hundred years thrice told the shade shall roam.
With chilling voice that sad and mournful ghost
Upbraids its kindred earth: "Thou hapless dust,
How fares it with thee now? how dost thou waste,
A foul and earthy mass? Full little erst
Thy thoughts were of that journey which the soul,
Driven from her fleshly tenement, is doom'd to!

Sawle findan	*Anima ad inveniendum*
Ðone lichoman,	*Corpus,*
Ðe heo ær longe wæg,	*Quod illa nuper habitavat,*
Ðreo hund wintra,	ccc *hyemes,*
Butan ær wyrce	*Nisi prius constituat*
Ece Dryhten	*Æternus Dominus*
Ælmihtig God	*Omnipotens Deus*
Ende worulde.	*Finem orbis.*
Cleopað ðonne swa cearful	*Clamat tunc adeo misera*
Caldan reorde,	*Frigidâ linguâ,*
Spriceð grimlice	*Alloquitur horrens*
Gæst to ðam duste:	*Anima pulverem:*
"Drugu ðu dreorga,	"*Pulvis tu infelix,*
To hwon dreahtest ðu me?	*Quo agis me?*
Eorðan fylnes	*Terrenâ putredine*
Eal forweornast,	*Omninò marcescis,*
Lames gelicnes.	*Limi similitudine.*
Lyt ðu geðohtes to won	*Parùm præcepisti expectatione*
Ðinne sawle sið	*Tuum spiritûs-iter*
Siððan wurde	*Quò futurum esset*
Siððan heo of lichoman	*Quum ille* (spiritus) *e corpore*
Læded wære.	*Eductus foret.*
Hwæt wite ðu me werga[1]	*Ut punies me inique!*

[1] I am by no means satisfied with the construction of this line, or the clause following it.

To what sad fate, O wretched food of worms,
Hast thou reduced me! Little thoughtest thou
How long and dreary was my destined way."

This extract constitutes about one-sixth part of the poem. The remainder is occupied by a tissue of similar reproaches, and appears, upon the whole, to exhibit but little of imagination, and none of those traces of popular opinions or customs which occasionally stamp an additional value on the remains of our ancient versifiers.

It terminates thus, at the 100th leaf of the MS.

Ðæt mæȝ æȝhwylcum	*Id debent* (possunt) *omninò*
Men to ȝemyndum	*Homines in mentem* (*revocare*)
Mod snotterra.	*Animi prudentes.*

Hwæt ðu huru	*Quàm tu verè*
Wyrma ȝifl	*Vermium esca*
Lyt ȝeðohtes	*Parùm cogitasti*
Hu ðis is lonȝ hider."	*Quàm sit longum hùc.*"

VI.

SCALDIC POEM.

Book X. Sect. 2. Leaf 100.

THIS poem is chiefly remarkable from its allusions to the mythological and mytho-historical narratives which have been incorporated into the Icelandic Edda; and more especially as fully attesting the popular estimation in which Weland, the Vulcan of Northern mythology, was held by our ancestors long after their conversion to Christianity; and proving also the antiquity and

general diffusion not only of a belief in his existence and attributes, but even of the details of his wild and singular history [1].

This history, as contained in the *Volundar Quida* of Sæmund's Edda (without the recent publication of which the Exeter Frag-

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[1] [*Note by the Editor.*]

The author of these Illustrations had detected also an allusion to the same mythological personage in a passage of King Alfred's translation of the Boethian metres, which moreover affords an amusing example of the ignorance of Roman historians then generally prevalent. The royal paraphrast, finding (in the 7th metre of the 2nd book) the following reflection on the instability of human glory,

Ubi nunc fidelis ossa Fabricii jacent?

afforded, by his entire ignorance of the fame of the "faithful legate," a new instance in support of the truth which the poet was labouring to establish, the uncertainty of earthly reputation; and considering his name apparently as designating, according to its etymology, a smith, transfers it to the most illustrious character of that profession with whose story he was conversant, the Vulcan of the North:—

Hwær sint nu ðæs wisan	Where are now the wise
Welandes ban,	Weland's bones,
Ðæs ȝoldsmiðes	The goldsmith
Ðe wæs ȝeo mærost.	That was formerly most illustrious.

P. 162.

The Saxon lexicographer Lye is strangely embarrassed by this passage, and endeavours to make out of 'Weland' an epithet referring to the travels of Fabricius to the court of Pyrrhus, as if agreeing with 'wealland' *peregrinans.*

The same error is also found in the prose translation of the passage, where it stands

Hwær sint nu ðæs Welondes ban.—P. 43.

Geoffrey of Monmouth has even introduced this Gothic artificer into the cyclus of Celtic fiction, where he mentions

Pocula quæ sculpsit Guielandus in urbe Sigeni.

Another allusion to him occurs in Hoveden, f. 444, who says, that when Geoffrey of Plantagenet was knighted, they brought him an ancient sword

ment must have remained as unintelligible to us as it was to H. Wanley, who terms it an ænigma,) runs briefly thus.—Weland was one of three brothers settled in Ulfdale, and married to Valkyriæ or war-nymphs, if they may so be termed. After a residence

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from the royal treasure, the workmanship of Galan, the most excellent of all sword-smiths.

In the local traditions of the Vale of the White Horse, his memory is still preserved in the legends attached to the cairn or cromlech called Wayland Smith, recently introduced to such general notice by the author of Kenilworth.

But one of the fullest references which early English literature presents to his story, occurs in the more modern version of the romance of Hornchilde, where maiden Rimenild gives her lover Horn a sword, of which she says,

> It is the make [*mate*] of Miming,
> Of all swerdes it is king,
> And WELAND it wrought,
> Bitterfer it hight.
>
> *Ritson's Romancees*, vol. iii. p. 295.

This will afford additional ground for referring that romance to a Saxon or Danish, and not to a Norman origin. Bishop Percy's assertion, indeed, that it appears of genuine English growth, though denied with equal confidence and ignorance by Ritson, is supported by internal evidence which no one capable of understanding it can reject. The above reference to Northern mythology, strongly as it indicates such an origin, is corroborated by many other circumstances tending even more forcibly to establish the same fact. Thus in all the three versions of this romance (that is to say, the two English and one French version, which has idly been supposed to be the original), although every one of them varies materially from the rest, both in incidents and names, yet in none of them is any name given to any character which is not purely Saxon—a circumstance not to be paralleled in any other romance; a mixture, greater or less, of French names occurring in them all. Thus even in Sir Tristram, Blanchefleure, Triamour, Gouvernail, Florentine, and others, are to be found, though that romance is remarkably free from such misnomers, and generally does ascribe Celtic names to its Celtic heroes. Secondly, the language of the earlier English version of Hornchilde is in its essence purely Saxon. In the whole course of the romance scarcely more than two words (*to arrive*, and 'on reme' for *on oars*) are referable to the Norman-

of nine years, these females were constrained by fate to leave their husbands, and disappeared. Two of the brothers departed in search of their respective partners; but Weland remained at home, employed in the curious arts of his profession, and had forged 700 rings or plates of gold, when Nidudr, a king of Nericia, allured by the fame of his riches, beset his dwelling with an armed force, and after some acts of plunder and insult, was induced by the advice of his queen to incapacitate him for active revenge, by the cruel process of cutting asunder the sinews of the knee joint. Thus maimed, he was conveyed to a small island, and forced to work for the benefit of his captors. In this solitude he revenged himself by secretly murdering the youthful sons of Nidudr, whom he had

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French; but the slightest acquaintance with romances really translated from the French will satisfy any one of the liberality with which the English minstrels borrowed not only the materials but the very words of the original, especially when to do so would help to furnish out a rime. Even Sir Tristram, which exhibits the nearest approach to the purity of this version of Horn, has often such words as belami, bonair, battayle, aventures, broche, conseil, delit, desire, deraie, dioul, &c. &c.

The phænomena presented by the three versions of Hornchilde seem to indicate that the story had become so popular as to form the subject of several different romances even in the Saxon times, for each bears the marks of immediate derivation from a Saxon original; and yet there are material variations in the manner of telling the story in each. The earlier English and the French bear the greatest resemblance, but the later English differs widely from both. In the two former, the scene is laid in the kingdoms of Suthene, Estness, and Westness, of which it would not be easy to ascertain the locality, and in Ireland; but in the later version we find ourselves on *terra firma* in several districts of Yorkshire, Northumberland, Wales, &c.: and the incursions of Saracens in the former are described as invasions of Danes and Irish in the latter; which, though certainly more modern in its present form, may claim from these circumstances, as well as the reference to Weland, to be considered as the more correct representation of a genuine Saxon original.

In Sir Tristram, also, we find a few lingering traces of Gothic traditions in the usage of the term 'dwerg' for dwarf, and in the mention of caverns wrought in the old times by the Eotenes.

decoyed into his dwelling by the promise of golden ornaments. He then presented to the father their skulls set in gold, and fashioned into drinking cups: to their mother, gems produced from their eyes; and to their sister Bodhilda, an ornament for the breast made from their teeth. Soon after the unconscious relatives had received these Thyestean presents, the virgin Bodhilda, having broken a golden bracelet, visits the artificer and entreats him to repair it. Either by druge or magic arts (for the poem is in parts not only obscure but mutilated) he seems to have cast her into a profound sleep, and to have added to the other particulars of his barbarous revenge the violation of her person. This accomplished, he enters the palace of Nidudr by the aid of wings, and hovering over the presence-chamber of the monarch, reveals to him (after having extorted a promise that Bodhilda shall suffer no injury at the hands of himself or queen) the untimely fate of their offspring. He then vanishes.—I have entered thus fully into an abstract of the *Volundar Quida*, because a knowledge of its import is requisite to the understanding the Saxon, or rather Danish bard; and because, from the very recent publication of this part of the Edda, it may not yet be generally known to those who have not made a peculiar study of Northern antiquities. I now pass to the composition immediately before us.

It appears to be a species of rude song, *De infortuniis illustrium virorum*, composed for the purpose of alleviating the sorrows of the writer himself. It is divided by a species of burden into paragraphs of unequal length, each containing a separate example. The first and second of these relate (as I have said) to the adventures of Weland and Bodhilda. After what has been premised, their general purport will be readily understood. It is not, however, without diffidence that I offer a translation, which I have endeavoured to make as literal as possible. Some passages are so obscure as to render it highly probable that I may have misunderstood them.

WELAND him bewurman	*WELANDUS sibi animum inflammare*
Wræces cunnade,	*Exilio* (v. *injuria*) *sensit,*
Anhydiȝ eorl	*Pervicax dux*
Earfoðа dreaȝ.	*Difficultatem pertulit.*
Hæfde him to ȝesiððe	*Habuit sibi in comites*
Sorȝe and lonȝað,	*Dolorem ac solitudinem,*
Winter cealde,	*Hyeme frigido,*
Wræce wean oft onfond,	*Exilii dolorem sæpe expertus est,*
Siððan hine Niðhad	*Ex quo eum Nithadus*
On nede leȝde	*Necessitate obstrinxit*
Swoncre seono bende	*Debilem nervorum articulos*
Onsyllan mon.	*Infelicem hominem.*
Ðæs ofer eode	*Hoc ille superavit*
Ðisses swa mæȝ.	*In hoc tuum tanquam potes sustine.*
Beadohilde ne wæs	*Bodhildæ non erat*
Hyre broðra deað	*Fratrum mors*
On sefan swa sar	*In pectore tam molesta*

E'EN Weland felt, the strong and stern,
His soul with wrongs indignant burn,
Doom'd through the winter's night to bear
A wretched exile's lot of care.
Companion had the Alf-king none
Save grief and solitude alone,
What time by false Nidudr's art
The mangled sinews' torturing smart
Had laid the hapless artist low,
In dread extremity of woe.
Yet bore he this, and thou mayst bear
The grief that all of earth must share.

Swa hyre sylfre ðinȝ;	*Quàm propria cura;*
Ðæt heo ȝearolice	*Quòd ea statim*
Onȝieten hæfde	*Intellexerat*
Ðæt heo eacen wæs.	*Se gravidam esse.*
Æfre ne meahte	*Nunquam potuit*
Ðrifte ȝeðencan	*Aucta* (scil. *fœtu*) *conjicere*
Hu ymb ðæt sceolde,	*Quomodo id evenisset, &c.*
Ðæs ofereode,	
Ðisses swa mæȝ.	

The mutability of human affairs is further illustrated by the example of the kings of the Goths (Geates Friȝe)[1], whom he states to

[1] The Editor has judged it best to insert at length from the original the concluding stanzas of this singular composition. In the first of these stanzas there appears to be a clear allusion to the thirty-two years' exile of Theodric (the celebrated Dietrich of Berne, of Teutonic historical romance); but since Mæringaburg seems to have been the proper city of that monarch, the text is probably corrupt: perhaps 'ne' has dropt out, and we should render the passage "Theodric did not possess," i. e. was deprived of the possession of Mæringaburg.

We ðæt mæð hilde	This reward of many a contest
Monȝe ȝefruȝnon,	Have we heard,
Wurdon ȝrundlease,	How they became deprived of their territories,
Geates friȝe,	The chiefs of the Goths,
Ðæt hi seo sorȝ lufa	So that from them the desire of grief
Slæp ealle binom.	All sleep removed.
Ðæs ofereode, &c.	
Ðeodric ahte	Theodric possessed
Ðrihtiȝ wintra	Thirty winters
Mæriȝa burȝ;	Mæringaburg;
Ðæt wæs moneȝum cuð.	This was known to many.
Ðæs ofereode, &c.	
We ȝeascodon	We have learned
Eormanrices	Ermanric's
Wylfenne ȝeðoht;	Wolf-like council;

have lost their territory by the continual wars of Theoderic and of Hermanric, both heroes of the second or mythico-historical period, as it has been termed, of the Eddic fictions. In the sequel we find depicted at somewhat greater length the misfortunes and sorrows of a bard, probably (as has been before somewhat too hastily perhaps asserted) of the author himself. "He sitteth," we are told, "bereaved of joy, his breast labouring with care, and thinketh with himself that his portion of hardships is endless. Then may he reflect how the allwise Lord worketh abundant changes throughout the world, exhibiting to many among men honour and the fruit of prudence, and to others the portion of woe. This may I affirm

---

Ahte wide folc
Gotena rices;
Ðæt wæs grim cyning;
Sæt secg monig
Sorgum gebunden
Wean on wenan,
Wigsete geneahhe
Ðæt ðæs cynerices
Ofercumen wære.
Ðæs ofereode, &c.
Siteð sorg cearig
Sælum bidæled,
On sefan sweonceð,
Sylfum ðenceð
Ðæt sy endeleas
Earfoða deal.
Mæg ðon geðencan
Ðæt geond ðas worulde
Witig Dryhten
Wendeð geneahhe;
Eorle monegum
Are gesceaweð
Wislicne blæd,
Sumum weana dæl.
Ðæt ic by me sylfum

He possessed the wide nations
Of the Gothic dominion;
He was a stern monarch;
Many a soldier sat
Bound with sorrows
To meditate on his woes,
Because the many warlike seats
Of that kingdom
Were overcome.

Translated in the text:—but the Editor is rather inclined to consider the first fourteen lines as a continuation of the subject of the preceding stanza, referring them to "Many a soldier" as their nominative. They describe, in his opinion, the reflections of the Gothic warriors on the vicissitudes of the contest between Theoderic and Ermanric: the transition to the personal affairs of the poet does not take place until the fifteenth line.

(he proceeds—and I preserve the original transition from the third to the first person), this may I affirm from my own experience: Once was I bard to the high Dane, beloved by my lord; my name was Deor; many a winter had I an excellent following, and a faithful chieftain, until Heorrenda, a crafty foe, deprived me of the lordship or freedom (londriht) that the glory of chieftains had bestowed on me."

The interest of these references to the Scaldic mythology will perhaps be better estimated if we consider that the remarkable volume which contains them has to boast of an antiquity, on the lowest allowance, three centuries higher than that of the oldest MS. extant of the Eddic poems, and coæval at least with their collection or composition (if ever indeed they were so collected or composed) by Sæmund the Wise. This much we must allow, both to these singular remains and to the Song of the Traveller inserted in an earlier portion of this collection, even though we should assign their origin to the age of Leofric. The MS. is, however, very possibly still older; for the latter part of its contents are scarcely such as the prelate would have procured to be transcribed for the use of a collegiate library. If, however, the transcript was made at his

---

Secgan wille,
Đæt ic hwile wæs
Heo Deninga scop,
Dryhtne dyre,
Me wæs Deor nama;
Ahte ic fela wintra
Folgað tilne,
Holdne hlaford;
Oððe ðæt Heorrenda,
Nu leoð cræftig mon,
Lond riht geðah,
Đæt me eorla hleo
Ær gescalde.
Đæs ofereode, &c.

direction, it is reasonable to suppose that the poems selected for the purpose would be such as already enjoyed some degree of reputation; the productions, perhaps, of some of those Scalds who are known to have graced the court and shared in the patronage of the munificent Canute. To this period (if I may be permitted to venture the hypothesis), I should be disposed to attribute the composition or the remodelling of these, and of the Danish Epic which has occupied so large a space in the earlier pages of the present work. The reference of both poems to Danish antiquity, and the occurrence of Runic letters in the Exeter MS. seem to countenance this opinion. If any one should be disposed to attribute the composition of our plundered bard to an earlier day, we have however seen that the name and occupation of Weland were not unknown to Alfred.

VII.

THE EXILE'S COMPLAINT.

Leaf 115.

[*Inserted by the Editor.*]

THE Editor has, in the present instance, been induced to deviate from the rule he had prescribed to himself, of confining these Illustrations to the materials prepared by the late Author[1], by two reasons;—First, the extreme scarcity of compositions of an elegiac character, such as the subjoined poem, in the Saxon language: the translations from the Boethian metres afford, perhaps, the only other instance; and the following lines may therefore be considered as an unique specimen of an original attempt of this kind by an

[1] The Author had himself been compelled to leave this portion of the Exeter MS. unexamined, but had expressed in one of the papers left behind him his desire that this task should be completed; a desire which the Editor, during a subsequent visit to Exeter, endeavoured to accomplish.

Anglo-Saxon Scop. The style will be found closely to resemble that which the royal paraphrast of Boethius has adopted, in its extreme simplicity, or, as Hickes considers it, purity; a fact affording confirmation to the views previously advanced, that this style was chosen as being better accommodated to subjects of a moral or elegiac nature than the grandiloquism of the Cædmonian school.

The second reason, which exerted still more influence over the Editor's determination, was the appearance which this poem presents of allusion to the adventures and misfortunes of some hero once familiar to the Scaldic Muse: he was anxious, therefore, to submit it to that part of the literary public interested in such inquiries, in the hope that some one more conversant with the cycle of early Northern poetry and romance than himself may trace it to its original dependence and source, and discover in it, as in the preceding instances of the Fight of Finsborough and the History of Weland, one of those interesting links which connect the remains of Anglo-Saxon literature with that of their Continental brethren of the same great family of nations [1].

It is almost needless to observe that this poem contains the lamentation of some faithful and attached attendant, whose lord had quitted his country, apparently in consequence of the treachery of his kindred, which had also been exerted to separate from him this humble friend, who had vainly endeavoured to trace and follow his footsteps in distant lands. His situation and feelings are expressed with more pathos, and his lonely retreat amidst the woods exhibits more power of description, than can be usually found in Saxon poetry.

Ic ðis ȝied wrece	I SET forth this lay
Bi me, ful ȝeomorre,	Concerning myself, full sad,

[1] Is it not probable that it is connected with the history of the faithful Hildebrand, who is recorded in the Wilkina Saga to have wandered in many countries, after the expulsion of his chief, Theoderic of Bern, from his kingdom by the treason of his uncle Ermanric?

Minre sylfre siðð.
Ic ðæt secgan mæg
Hwæt ic yrmða gebad
Siððan ic upaweox,
Niwes oððe ealdes.
Nō mā ðoñ nū[1]
A ic wite won
Minra wræc siða ærest;
Min hlaford gewat
Heonan of leodum
Ofer yða gelac;
Hæfde ic wht ceare
Hwær min leod fruma
Londes wære;
Ða ic me feran gewat,
Folgað secan,

Wineleas wrecca for;
Minre wea ðearfe ongunnon,
Ðæt ðæs monnes
Magas hycgan
Ðurh tyrne geðoht
Ðæt hy todælden unc,
Ðæt wit, gewidost
In woruld rice,
Lifdon lað licost;
And mec longade
Hat mec hlaford min
Her heard niman;
Ahte ic leofra lyt
On ðissum londstede,
Holdra freonda.

And my own journeyings.
I may declare
What calamities I have abode
Since I grew up,
Recently or of old.
No man hath experienced the like;
But I reckon the privations [first;
Of my own exiled wanderings the
My lord departed,
Hence from his people
Over the expanse of the waves;
I had some care
Where my chieftain
In the lands might be;
Then I departed on my journey,
To seek my following (*i.e.* the chief to whose train I belonged),
A friendless exile's travel; [gan,
The necessities of my sorrows be-
Because this man's
Kindred plotted
Through malevolent counsel
That they should separate us,
That we, far remote
In the regions of the world,
Should live most afflicted;
This weary state
My lord hath ordained me
Here in hardship to endure;
I have few dear to me
In this country,
[Few] faithful friends.

---

[1] I read this line, "Nan man ðone nam."

For ðon is min hyge geomor:
Ða ic me ful gemæc
Ne monnan funde
Heard-sæligne,
Hyge geomorne,
Mod unðendne[1],
Morðor hycgende.
Blíðe gebæro,
Ful oft wit beotedon
Ðæt unc ne gedælde
Nemne deað ana owiht elles.
Eft is ðæt on hworfan;
Is nu swa hit no wære,
Freondscipe uncer:
Seal[2] is feor geneah
Mines fela leofan
Fæhða dreogan.
Heht mec man wunian
On wuda bearwa,
Under ac treo,
In ðam eorð scræfe;
Cald is ðis eorð sele;
Eal ic eom of longad;
Sindon dena dimme;
Duna up hean;
Bitre burg-tanes[3],

Therefore is my mind sad:
So that, as a perfect mate to me
(*i. e.* a full rival in affliction)
I can find no man
[So] unhappy,
Sad in mind,
Debilitated in spirit,
And intent on thoughts of death.
Blithe in our bearing,
Full oft we two promised
That nothing should separate us
Save death alone.
But this is reversed; [been,
And now, as though it had never
Is our friendship become:
Afar off is it the lot
Of my well-beloved
To endure enmity.
I am compelled to sojourn
In woodland bowers,
Beneath the oak-tree,
In this earthy cavern;
Cold is this earthy mansion;
I am all wearied out;
Dark are the dells,
And steep the mountains;
A horrid dwelling among branches,

---

[1] unðeond, *non vigens*, from 'un' and 'ðean'.

[2] I am far from satisfied with my translation of this passage, in which I have supposed 'seal' to be the same with 'sæl,' *time* or *occasion*, and interpreted it as the destiny imposed by actual circumstances.

[3] burg-tanes.—I can find no etymon for this term, excepting 'burg,' *a city* or *residence*, and 'tana,' *a branch*; and I have rendered it accordingly.

Brerum beweaxne;
Wic wynnaleas.
Ful oft mec her wraðe
Bezeat from siðfrean:

Frynd synd on eorðan;
Leof lifzende
Lezer weardiað;
Ðon ic on uhtan
Ana zanze
Under ac treo
Geond ðas eorð scrafa:
Ðær ic sittan mot
Summor lanzne dæz,
Ðær ic wepan mæz
Mine wræc siðas
Earfoða fela;
Forðon ic æfre ne mæz
Ðære mod ceare
Minre zerestanne,
Ealles ðæs lonza
Ðæs mec on ðissum life bezeat.
Ascyle zeonz man
Wesan zeomor mod,

Heard heartan zeðoht,
Swylc habban sceal
Bliðe zebæro;
Eac ðon breost ceare

Sin-sorzna zedreaz;
Sy æt him sylfum zelonz
Eal his worulde wyn;
Sy ful wide fah

Overgrown with briars;
A joyless abode.
Here full oft adversity
Hath overtaken me from the journey of my lord:
My friends are in the earth;
Those beloved in life
The sepulchre guardeth;
Then I around
In solitude wander
Under the oak-tree
By this earth-cave:
There must I sit
The summer long day,
There may I weep
My exiled wanderings
Of many troubles;
Therefore I can never
From the care
Of my mind, rest,
From all the weariness [life.
That hath come upon me in this
Let the young man strip off
To be sad of mind (*i. e.* in anticipation of sorrow),
Hardhearted thoughts,
The same that shall [now] have
A blithe bearing;
[Shall hereafter] also [have] in the care of his breast [rows;
The endurance of constant sor-
[Although] long may abide with
All his worldly joy; [him
And distant be the foe

Feorres folc-londes;	Of the far country;
Ðæt min freond siteð	In which my friend sitteth
Under stan hliðu,	Beneath the stony mountain,
Storme behrimed.	Hoary with the storm.
(Wine werig mod)	(My companion weary in his spirit)
Wætre beflowen	The waters streaming
On dreor sele;	Around his dreary abode;
Dreogeð se min wine	This my friend suffereth
Micle mod ceare,	Great sorrow of mind,
He gemon to oft	And remembereth too often
Wynlicran wic.	His happier home.
Wa bið ðam[1]	Woe shall be to them
Ðe sceal of langoðe	That shall to length
Leofes abidan.	Of life abide.

VIII.

THE RUINED WALL-STONE.

Leaf 123.

THIS specimen was left by the late Author of these Illustrations in a very imperfect state of preparation: the Latin translation had

[1] I conceive the author here returns to the moral reflections commenced in the lines "Ascyle geong man," &c., which were, with much natural feeling, interrupted by the remembrance of his friend's exile and sorrows, suggested by the mention of a far country; the passage from "Ðæt min freond siteð" to "Wynlicran wic" being parenthetical. The general tenor of these moral reflections appears to be, "Let not the young presume in their prosperous fortune, for whosoever shall attain to length of days is destined also to the endurance of ill."

not received any revision, consisting only of scanty notes in pencil on the margin of his transcript; and the few first lines of the metrical version were alone completed. The Editor was unwilling, however, to suppress a fragment of so much interest, and so superior, both in picturesque description and in the tone of moral feeling which pervades it, to the great mass of Saxon poetry: he has therefore ventured, although altogether unpractised in poetical composition, to fill up the chasms of the metrical version; distinguishing, however, his own rude attempts by the Italic character.

The reader will be reminded, in the contrast between past grandeur and actual desolation thus presented by the ancient Scald, of the more elaborate delineation of a modern author, the celebrated description of Dinevor Castle in Dyer's "Grongar Hill;' but a still more interesting parallel, because drawn from the poetry of a period equally remote and imperfectly civilized, will be found among the early bards of Wales, in Llywarch Hen's Elegy on Urien Reged—"Yr aelwyd hon," &c.

THIS hearth—deserted by the shout—
More habitual on its floor
Was the mead, and the talking of the mead-drinkers.

This hearth—will it not be covered with nettles?
While its defender was alive
More accustomed there was the needy stranger.

This hearth—will it not be covered with sod?
In the lifetime of Owain and Elphin
Its cauldron boiled the prey.

This hearth—will it not be covered with hoary fungi?
More accustomed around its viands
The brave ones dauntless in the sword stroke.

This hearth—will it not be covered with spreading brambles?
Blazing logs were upon it,
And the accustomed gifts of Reged.

This hearth—will it not be covered with thorns?
More accustomed to it the assembled ring
Of Owain's companions.

This hearth—will it not be covered with ants?
More accustomed the bright torches
And blameless societies.

This hearth—will it not be turned up by swine?
More accustomed the clamour of men,
And circling horns of the banquet.

This buttress here—and that one there—
More accustomed around them
An army's clamour, and the path of melody.

It has appeared to the Editor that some connexion may exist between the subject of the present specimen and the history of Finsborough already detailed in a former article of this Appendix, since both cities were under the dominion of the Jutes, and both appear to have perished by a similar catastrophe.

THE RUINED WALL-STONE.

REAR'D and wrought full workmanly
By earth's old giant progeny
The wall-stone proudly stood. It fell
When bower, and hall, and citadel,
And lofty roof, and barrier gate,
And tower and turret bow'd to fate,

And wrapt in flame and drench'd in gore
The lofty burgh might stand no more.
Beneath the Jutes' long vanish'd reign.
Her masters ruled the subject plain;
But they have moulder'd side by side—
The vassal crowd, the chieftain's pride;
And hard the grasp of earth's embrace,
That shrouds for ever all the race.
So fade they, countless and unknown,
The generations that are gone[1].

* * * * * * * *

Fair rose her towers in spiry height,
From bower of pride and palace bright,
Echoing with shout of warriors free,
And the gay mead-hall's revelry;
Till Fate's stern hour and Slaughter's day
Swept in one ruin all away,
And hush'd in common silence all,
War-shout and voice of festival.
Their towers of strength are humbled low,
Their halls of mirth waste ruins now,
That seem to mourn, so sad and drear,
Their masters' blood-stain'd sepulchre.
The purple bower of regal state,
Roofless and stain'd and desolate,
Is scarce from meaner relics known,
The fragments of the shatter'd town.
There store of heroes, rich as bold,
Elate of soul, and bright with gold,
Donn'd the proud garb of war that shone
With silvery band and precious stone:

---

[1] Here some mutilated lines of the original, which appear to mention Rægnar or Rægnar and Readfah as ancient kings of the city, are omitted.

So march'd they once in gorgeous train
In that high seat of wide domain.
How firmly stood in massy proof
The marble vault and fretted roof,
Till, all-resistless in its force,
The fiery torrent roll'd its course,
And the red wave and glowing flood
Wrapt all beneath its bosom broad.

Leaf 123. last line.

WRÆTLIC is ðis wealstan	*ÆFFABRE factum est hoc ædifi-*
Wyrde ȝebræcon,	*Fato disruptum,* [*cium*
Burȝ stede burston,	*Urbium sedes corruunt,*
Brosnad enta ȝeweorc;	*Pereunt gigantum opera;*
Hrofas sind ȝehrorene,	*Tecta sunt devastata,*
Hreos ȝetorras,	*Turres ruitari,*
[1] Hrim-ȝeat-berofen;	*Amplis portis privati;*
Hrim on lime,	*Fuligo est super calcem* [i.e. *calce obductos parietes*],
Scearde scur beorȝe,	*Erasa est urbs pulcra,*
Scorene ȝedrorene,	*Direpta et sanguine perfusa,*
Ældo under Eotene.	*Quæ olim fuit sub Jutis.*
Eorð ȝrap hafað	*Terræ amplexus tenet*
Waldend wyrhtan	*Principes operariosque,*
Forweorone ȝeleorene,	*Extinctos mortuosque,*
Heard ȝripe hrusan;	*Duro telluris compressu;*
Oð hund cnea	*Donec centum genera*
Werðeoda ȝewitan.	*Hominum discesserunt.*
Oft ðæs wæȝ ȝebad	. . . . .
Ræȝhar and Readfah	. . . . .
Rice æfter oðrum	. . . . .

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[1] Forsan pro 'rumȝeat,' *porta ampla.*

Ofstonden under stormum . . . . . .
Steap ȝeap ȝedrea . . . . . .
* * * * * * * * * *

[*Hìc Codex hiulcus est.*]

Beorht wæron burh ræced,	*Splendida erant urbis ædificia,*
Burn-sele moniȝe,	*Ædes permultæ,*
Heah horn ȝestreon;	*Altis pinnis ornatæ* (vel potius *Altum erat cornu possessionum ejus*);
Here sweȝ micel;	*Exercitûs vox magna;*
Meodo-heall moniȝ,	*Medi aula plurima,*
[1] ᛗ [*man?*] dreama ful.	*Hominum gaudii plena.*
Oð ðe ðæt onwende	*Donec supervenerit*
Wyrd seo swyðe,	*Fatum asperum;*
Cruncon walo wide,	*Occubuerunt strage latâ,*
Cwoman wol-daȝas,	*Venerunt prælii dies,*
Swylt eal fornom	*Exitium omnes rapuit*
Secȝ-rof wera;	*Bello claros heroas;*
Wurdon hyra wiȝsteal	*Erant eorum propugnacula*
Westen staðolas,	*Desertæ sedes,*
Brosnade beorȝsteal.	*Diruta urbis statio.*
Betende crunȝon	*Præliati occubuerunt*
Hergas to hrusan.	*Milites in terram.*
Forðon ðas hofa dreorȝiað;	*Ergo hæc habitatio luget;*
And ðæs teafor ȝeapu,	*Et hæc purpurea (regalis domus)*
Tiȝelum sceadeð,	*Tegulis divulsis,* [*prona,*
Hrost beaȝas-rof	*Cubiculum annuliferi herois*
Hryre wonȝ ȝecronȝ,	*Ruina in campum prolapsa est,*
Gebrocen to beorȝum.	*Inter urbis fragmenta.*
Ðær hi beorn monig,	*Ibi juvenis multus,*
Glædmod and ȝold beorht,	*Lætus animo et auro lucens,*

[1] This Rune, which represents the letter M, is named Man, and here appears to stand for that name.

Gleoma ȝefrætwed,	*Splendidè ornatus,*
Wlonc and winȝal,	*Audax, et gaudio gestiens,*
Wiȝ-hyrstum scan,	*Indusiis bellicis fulsit,*
Seah on sync on sylfor,	*Prospexit metallum, argentumque,*
On searo ȝimmas,	*Pulcrasque gemmas,*
On ead on æht,	*Divitias, possessionesque,*
On eorcan stan.	*Et lapides pretiosos.*
On ðas beorhtan burȝ	*In hâc splendidâ civitate*
Bradaṅ rices	*Lati regni*
Stan hofu stodan;	*Lapidei fornices stabant;*
Stream hate wearp	*Flumen igneum invasit*
Widan wylme,	*Lato æstu,*
Weal eal befenȝ	*Murum totum occupavit*
Beorhtan bosme.	*Lucido sinu.*
Đær ða baðu wæron	. . . . .
Hat on hreðre	. . . . .
Đæt wæs hyðelic.	. . . . .
Leton ðon ȝeoton * *	. . . . .

* * * * * *

[*Cætera Codicis mutilatione desunt.*]

No. IV.

KING ALFRED'S METRICAL PARAPHRASE OF THE POETICAL PORTIONS OF BOETHIUS 'DE CONSOLATIONE PHILOSOPHIÆ.'

ALTHOUGH it is possible that Alfred may not have found leisure to compose or translate all the works attributed to him by Bale and other antiquaries, there is yet unquestionable authority for his having enriched our language with a version of the well-known treatise of Boethius *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*. William of Malmesbury not only relates the fact, but describes the manner in which the illustrious author was enabled to surmount the various difficulties of his original,—difficulties both of style and matter, which must otherwise have formed a considerable bar to the labours of one who had applied himself only at an advanced age to the study of the Latin language, and who could scarcely be expected to have brought to his task a competent knowledge of the philosophical tenets of Grecian antiquity. 'Asser (it appears from this testimony) first interpreted or paraphrased the work, to which Alfred afterwards gave an English dress. The celebrated Junius transcribed this version from a manuscript in the Bodleian Library, adding the various readings of one yet earlier [1] (if I understand him rightly) in the Cottonian. This tran-

[1] "*melioris notæ.*"

script was afterwards published in the year 1698 by C. Rawlinson, of Queen's College, Oxford, without any attempt at commentary or explanation.

The variations of the two manuscripts are for the most part very trifling. In one instance, however, there is a remarkable difference. The metrical parts in the one (the Bodleian MS.) being translated into prose, while in the other they are rendered very paraphrastically and elaborately into verse. The lines given in the note below [1] constitute the evidence on which this metrical

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[1]

Ðus Ælfred us	*Ita Alfredus nobis*
Eald spell reahte,	*Antiquum opus exposuit,*
Cyninȝ West Sexna,	*Rex Saxonum Occidentalium,*
Cræft meldode	*Artem prodidit,*
Leoðwyrhta list.	*Scientiam poeticam.*
Him wæs lust micel	*Illi fuit voluptati imprimis*
Ðæt he ðiossum leodum	*Quod hisce populis*
Leoð spellode	*Carmen enarraret*
Monnum myrȝen,	*Hominibus jucundum,*
Mislice cwidas,	*Miscellanea verba,*
Ðy leas ælinȝe	*Ne tædium*
Utadrife.	*Excitaret.*
Selflicne secȝ	*Propriæ laudis mentionem*
Ðonne he swelces lyt	*Quandoquidem ipse ita parcè*
Gymð for his ȝilpe,	*Efferre studuit in ostentationem,*
Ic sceal ȝiet sprecan,	*Ego tamen prædicabo,*
Fon on fitte,	*Recipiam me in cantilenam,*
Folc cuðne ræd	*Monitum populo cognitum*
Hæleðum secȝean;	*Viris dicere;*
Hliste se ðe wille.	*Audiat qui velit.*

The 13th and following lines appear to allude to the modest manner in which the royal paraphrast, in the close of his own prose introduction, had apologized for the probable defects of his version. "Notwithstanding," says his encomiast, "he thus modestly suppressed his own praises, yet I will proclaim them aloud in my lay, as being universally admitted through his nation."

version is attributed to the royal paraphrast; they are in the original MS. subjoined to the prose introduction.

The style of these Ælfredian versions is distinguished from that of the Cædmonian school by its great simplicity of diction, and the absence of those poetical phrases which are so characteristic of the latter, and which appear to have been in the same common use with its followers as the expressions *βίη Ηριάμοιο*,—*κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμὸν*,—*ἀκάματον πῦρ*,—*ποιμένα λαῶν*, and the like, were with Homer and his imitators.

The inferences which Hickes has deduced from this difference of styles against the antiquity of the supposed Cædmonian remains have been already stated and considered.[1]

It is not however to be concluded, from what has been mentioned as to the absence of particular expressions of a poetical nature, that the language of Alfred is either prosaic or destitute of ornament. We should not be justified in attributing these defects to Euripides simply because we do not find in him the laboured and unusual phraseology of Æschylus; and the difference between the works of Alfred and the reputed Cædmon is nearly of this nature. It is possible, too, that the learned monarch having a classical model before his eyes, and wishing to make his translation as generally useful as possible, may have abstained purposely from a mode of composition which frequently offended against the rules of good taste, and was occasionally so obscure as to offer rather enigmas than metaphors. His philosophical genius must have shown him the defects of this inflated style, and its evident impropriety for the uses of moral and didactic poetry. In general, his taste appears to have led him to the use of the simplest language. Thus in metaphorical passages, where even we should probably adopt language somewhat elevated above common use (though not strained to the absurd height of the Islandic phraseology), he is content with the most obvious and simple. Thus where we should

[1] Vide p. 185.

speak of the gales of adverse fortune, and the storms of care, he scruples not to use the terms—"Rain of sorrows," and "Wind of trouble." In this and some other respects his diction is less highly laboured, and perhaps in a purer taste, than that of his original.

The work in question has hitherto been called a translation of the Boethian Metres. Its execution, however, by no means corresponds with our notions of the fidelity expected from one who should profess to render an ancient author into any modern language. Alfred frequently omits whole sentences together, and yet more frequently expands to an almost immoderate length those which he selects for imitation.

This latter practice he might certainly be in a manner constrained to adopt by the extreme conciseness of his originals, a conciseness which renders many parts of them almost incomprehensible to persons not previously acquainted with the philosophical principles of their author. Both in his interpretation of these, and even of passages in which the sense is to us infinitely more obvious, he must doubtless have been influenced by the wish of rendering them as intelligible as possible to the persons for whose information and improvement they were intended,—persons whom he must have well known to be destitute both of literature and philosophy. Thus, where Boethius simply has

Tibi serviat ultima Thule,

The paraphrast has

Thule, that isle that rears
Its head far westward to the ocean-wave,
Whose summer knows no night, or winter day.

In another passage he illustrates the supposed situation and immobility of the earth, with respect to the moveable heaven which was believed to surround it, by the position of the yolk in the centre of the egg.

For the former practice it will not perhaps be so easy to find an apology, the parts omitted being frequently such as no translator

would have rejected, either on the score of obscurity or want of poetical beauty.

The Metres of Boethius may perhaps be divided, with reference to their subjects, into the elegiac, the didactic, and the theological. It has been attempted to translate one example in each style, and these three specimens will suffice to give a tolerably accurate notion of the general manner in which the royal paraphrast has executed his task.

CARMINA qui quondam studio florente peregi,
Flebilis, heu, mœstos cogor inire modos.
Ecce mihi laceræ dictant scribenda Camenæ;
Et veris elegi fletibus ora rigant.
Has saltem nullus potuit pervincere terror,
Ne nostrum comites prosequerentur iter.
Gloria felicis olim viridisque juventæ
Solatur mœsti nunc mea fata senis.
Venit enim properata malis inopina senectus,
Et dolor ætatem jussit inesse suam.
Intempestivi funduntur vertice cani,
Et tremit effœto corpore laxa cutis.
Mors hominum felix, quæ se nec dulcibus annis
Inserit, et mœstis sæpe vocata venit.
Eheu, quàm surdâ miseros avertitur aure,
Et flentes oculos claudere sæva negat!
Dum levibus malefida bonis fortuna faveret,
Penè caput tristis merserat hora meum.
Nunc quia fallacem mutavit nubila vultum,
Protrahit ingratas impia vita moras.
Quid me felicem toties jactastis, amici?
Qui cecidit, stabili non erat ille gradu.

I, THAT in happier days attuned to joy
The frequent voice, now sad and woe-begone,
A captive wretch, must sigh and sing of sorrow.
Sore has that sorrow marr'd the poet-fire,

That wont of old, while pleasure yet was mine,
To breathe so fair and free the genuine lay.
Now my mind wanders oft, the choicer phrase
Mingling perchance with rude and uncouth speech.
Once the world's wealth was mine: blind that I was
And senseless! it hath lured me to my fall,
And left me in this dark and loathsome cell
Bereft of hope and comfort. Vain delights!
Since thus ye have deserted me, my soul
Henceforth shall know you, faithless as ye are!
How could ye tell me once, ye flattering friends,
That I was born to bliss? False was that word,
For human joys are frail, and short of stay.

HWÆT ic lioða fela
Lustlice ȝeo
Sanc on sælum,
Nu sceal siofiȝende,
Wope ȝewæȝed,
Wreccea ȝiomor,
Sinȝan sarcwidas.
Me ðios siccetunȝ
Hafaþ aȝæled ðes ȝeocsa,
Ðat ic ða ȝed ne mæȝ
Gefeȝean swa fæȝre,
Ðeah ic fela ȝio ða
Sette soð cwida,
Ðonne ic on sælum wæs.
Oft ic nu miscyrre
Cuðe spræce
And ðeah uncuðre.
Ær hwilum fond me
Ðas woruld sælða:,
Wel hwæs blindne;
On ðis dimme hol
Dysine forlæddon,
And me ða berypton
Rædes and frofre.
For heora untreowum,
Ðe ic him æfre betst
Truwian sceolde,
Hi me towendon
Heora bacu bitere,
And heora blisse from.
Forhwam wolde ȝe,
Weoruld frynd mine,
Secȝan oððe sinȝaȝ
Ðæt ic ȝesællic mon
Wære on weorulde?
Ne synt ða word soð.
Nu ða ȝesælða ne maȝon
Simle ȝewunigan.

It will be immediately perceived that Alfred has omitted many of the lines, and not given very scrupulously the sense of others.

The second specimen, which may be regarded as of a didactic nature, is the 4th metre of the 2nd book.

Quisquis volet perennem
Cautus ponere sedem,
Stabilisque nec sonori
Sterni flatibus Euri,
Et fluctibus minantem
Curat spernere pontum,
Montis cacumen alti,
Bibulas vitet arenas.
Illud protervus Auster
Totis viribus urget;
Hæ pendulum solutæ
Pondus ferre recusant.
Fugiens periculosam
Sortem sedis amœnæ,
Humili domum memento
Certus figere saxo.
Quamvis tonet ruinis
Miscens æquora ventus,
Tu conditus quieti,
Felix robore valli,
Duces serenus ævum,
Ridens ætheris iras.

The introduction of Alfred has been preserved. He has in several cases prefixed a few lines of similar import.

ONCE more the Goddess, as she wont, exchanged
Her speech for song; and thus she sweetly told
Of truth and virtue. "Never yet I heard
Of mortal, that might fix his high-roof'd hall
Unshaken on the mountain's topmost brow:
Nor have I known among the sons of earth
Him that might harbour in a heart of pride
Wisdom and wisdom's works. Say, hast thou seen

Him that could rear upon the fleeting sand
His lasting tower of strength? So fares the man
That wisdom's goodly fabric fain would raise
Where the foul brood of earth-born appetites
O'erspread the soul; e'en as that sand shall drink
The rain of heaven, so the insatiate rage
Of this world's wealth drinks dry the golden shower,
Nor cools its thirst withal. Short space endures
The pile that crowns the mountain; the wild wind
Sweeps by, and it is gone: rear it on sand
Swoll'n by the rain, that treacherous soil forsakes
Its tottering base. So falls the soul of man,
Devious and driven from her true place of rest,
When the rude gales of passion and the flood
Of worldly care and vain solicitude
Relentless press on her. What man would find
The joy that knows not failure or deceit,
Swift let him fly the world's delusive pomp,
There for his soul her secret cell to work,
Where he may find some lowly corner-stone
That ne'er may fail him, though the unpitying storm
Rage round it, and the ceaseless blast assail.
E'en such a mansion in its humble state
The Almighty One disdains not to regard;
And wisdom enters there a willing guest.
There shelter'd may he taste a life of bliss
That knows nor fear nor failure. For the wise,
Reckless alike of earthly good or harm,
Place not their hope in aught save that which lasts
When the world's wealth hath perish'd. Thus upheld
By the great Source of Good, they shape their course.
In vain the stormy cares of life assail them,
In vain the rude blast and the whelming surge
Sweep to destruction all their earthly good."

Đa onȝon se Wisdom,
His ȝewunan,
Fylȝan ȝlio wordum,
Gol ȝyd æst spelle,
Sonȝ soð cwida,
Sumne ða ȝeta.
Cwæð he ne herde
Đat on heane munt
Monna æniȝ
Meahte asettan
Healle hrof fæste:
Ne ðearf eac hæleða nan
Wenan ðæs weorces,
Đæt he Wisdom mæȝe
Wið ofermetta
Æfre ȝemenȝan.
Herdes ðu æfre
Đætte æniȝ mon
On sond beorȝas
Settan meahte
Fæste healle.
Ne mæȝ eac fira nan
Wisdom timbran
Đær ðær woruld ȝitsunȝ
Beorȝ oferbræðeð;
Baru sond willað
Ren forswelȝan,
Swa deð ricra nu
Grundleas ȝitsunȝ
Gilpes and æhta
Gedrinceð to dryȝȝum
Dreosendne welan,
And ðeah ðæs ðearfan
Ne bið ðurst aceled.
Ne mæȝ hæleða ȝehwæm
Hus on munte
Lanȝe ȝelæstan:
Forðæm him lunȝre on
Swift wind swapeð:
Ne bið sond ðon ma
Wið micelne ren
Manna ænȝum,
Huses hirde,
Ac hit hreosan wile
Siȝan sond æfter rene.
Swa bioð anra ȝehwæs
Monna Mod sðfan
Miclum awæȝede,
Of hiora stede styrede,
Đonne he stronȝ dreceð
Wind under wolcnum,
Woruld earfoða;
Oððe hit eft se reða
Ren onhrereð
Sumes ymbhoȝan
Unȝemet ȝemen.
Ac se ðe ða ecan
Aȝan wille,
Soðan ȝesælða,
He sceal swiðe flion
Đisse worulde wlite;
Wyrce him siððan
His Modes hus,
Đær he mæȝe findan
Eaðmetta stan,
Uniȝ metfæstne,

Grundweal ȝearone,
Se to ȝlidan ne ðearf,
Ðeah hit wecȝe wind
Woruld earfoðða,
Oððe ymbhoȝena
Ormete ren.
Forðæm on ðære dene
Drihten selfa
Ðara eadmetta
Eardfæst wuniȝað;
Ðær se Wisdom a'
Wunað on ȝemyndum.
Forðon orsorȝ lif
Ealniȝ lædað.
Woruld men wise,
Buton wendinȝe,
Ðonne he eall forsihð
Eorðlicu ȝood
And eac ðara yfela
Orsorh wunað,
Hopað to ðam ecum
Ðe ðær æfter cumað.
Hine ðonne æȝhwonan
Ælmihtiȝ Good
Sinȝallice
Simle ȝehealdeð.
Anwuniȝendne
His aȝenum
Modes ȝeselðum,
Ðurh metodes ȝife,
Ðeah hine se wind
Woruld earfoða
Swiðe swence,
And hine sinȝale.—
Gemen ȝæle,
Ðonne him ȝrimme
On woruld-sælða
Wind wraðe blaweð,
Ðeah ðe hine
Ealneȝ se ymbhoȝa
Ðyssa woruld sælða
Wraðe drecce.

The third specimen which I have selected is a part of the well-known Address to the Deity, contained in the third book of the original. The translation of Alfred is in this case highly paraphrastic.

O QUI perpetuâ mundum ratione gubernas,
Terrarum cœlique Sator, qui tempus ab ævo
Ire jubes, stabilisque manens das cuncta moveri;
Quem non externæ pepulerunt fingere causæ
Materiæ fluitantis opus; verùm insita summi
Forma boni, livore carens: Tu cuncta superno
Ducis ab exemplo, pulcrum pulcerrimus ipse

Mundum mente gerens, similique in imagine formans,
Perfectasque jubens perfectum absolvere partes:
Tu numeris elementa ligas, ut frigora flammis,
Arida conveniant liquidis, ne purior ignis
Evolet, aut mersas deducant pondera terras:
Tu triplicis mediam naturæ cuncta moventem
Connectens animam, per consona membra resolvis,
Quæ cùm secta duos motum glomeravit in orbes,
In semet reditura meat, mentemque profundam
Circuit, et simili convertit imagine cœlum:
Tu causis animas paribus, vitasque minores
Provehis, et levibus sublimes curribus aptans,
In cœlum terramque seris, quas lege benignâ
Ad te conversas reduci facis igne reverti.
Da, Pater, augustam menti conscendere sedem;
Da fontem lustrare boni; da luce repertâ
In te conspicuos animi defigere visus:
Dissice terrenæ nebulas et pondera molis,
Atque tuo splendore mica: Tu namque serenum,
Tu requies tranquilla piis: te cernere, finis:
Principium, vector, dux, semita, terminus idem.

O THOU, whose works in mute amazement hold
Earth's wisest sons, all glorious and all great,
Eternal Lord! how well and wondrously,
Seen or unseen, thy creatures hast thou shaped,
With gentle sway and sovereign intellect
Wielding at will this beauteous universe!
To this our middle earth, from first to last,
The seasons, that now pass and now return,
In good and seemly order thou hast dealt.
Thou wisely guidest, as thy pleasure wills,
Thy creatures ever moving,—still thyself
Immoveable;—for none exist before thee,

Greater or mightier or equal known.
No need compelled thee—for thou canst not need—
To frame thine universal work; but all
Of thine own power and pleasure hast thou made,
The world and all its wonders; since to thee
Nought could they yield of profit or of praise.
Who deems aright, what can he deem the whole
But one great offspring of eternal goodness?
Thine own—for goodness and thyself are one,
And nought is good without thee.
Seek we to learn what that thy goodness is?
Almighty goodness; ever one with thee,
It hath no semblance of our mortal nature;
For all we taste or know of good on earth
From thee alone proceeds, in thee alone
By envy unalloyed; for none can move
Envy, where none is equal: and what mind
Save thine, the all-wise One, could in one vast thought
Sum up the form and substance of all good?

EALA min Drihten,
Đæt ðu eart ælmihtiȝ!
Micel modilic
Mærðum ȝefræȝe
And wundorlic
Witena ȝehwylcum!'
Hwæt ðu, ece God,
Ealra ȝesceafta
Wundorlice wel ȝesceope,
Unȝesewenlicra,
And eac swa same ȝesewenlicra;
Softe wealdest
Scirra ȝesceafta
Mid ȝesceadwisum
Mæȝne and cræfte.
Đu ðysne middan ȝeard,
From fruman ærest
Forð oð ende,
Tidum to-dældes:
Swa hit ȝetæsost wæs
Endebyrdes,
Đæt hi æȝhwæðer
Ge arfarað
Ge eftcumað.
Đu ðe unstilla
Aȝna ȝesceafta
To ðinum willan
Wislice astyrest;

And ðe self wunæst
Swiðe stille,
Unanwendendlica;
Forð simle
Nis nan mihtiȝra,
Ne nan mærra,
Ne ȝeond ealle ða ȝesceaft,
Efnlica ðin:
Ne ðe æniȝ ned ðearf,
Næs æfre ȝiet
Ealra ðara weorca
Ðe ðu ȝeworht hafast;
Ac mid ðinum willan
Ðu hit worhtes eall,
And mid anwalde
Ðinum aȝenum
Weorulde ȝeworhtest,
And wuhta ȝehwæt;
Ðeah ðe nænoȝu
Ned ðearf wære
Eallra ðara mærða.
Is ðat micel ȝecynd
Ðines ȝoodes,
Ðencð ymb se ðe wile;
For ðon hit is eall an,
Ælces ðinczes,
Ðu and ðat ðin ȝood:
Hit is ðin aȝen;
Forðæm hit his utan
Ne com auht to ðe.
Ac ic ȝeorne wat
Ðæt ðin ȝoodnes is
Ælmihtiȝ ȝood,
Eall mid ðe selfum:
Hit is unȝelic
Urum ȝecynde;
Us is utan cymen
Eall ða we habbað
Gooda on ȝrundum
From Gode selfum.
Næft ðu to ænoȝum
Andan ȝenumenne;
Forðam ðe nan ðinȝ
Nis ðin ȝelica:
Ne huru æniȝ ælcræftiȝre:
Forðæm ðu eal ȝood
Anes ȝeðeahte
Ðines ȝeðohtest.

Although the poems from which these extracts have been made cannot, strictly speaking, be considered as original works, and though from their nature we cannot expect to gather from them any material information with respect to the manners or opinions of the age in which they were written, they have still many claims upon our attention. To say nothing of the interest which they must naturally derive from the rank, the virtues, and the abilities of their illustrious author, the style in which they are *written* is in all probability that which was at the time of their production esteemed

the purest and most correct form of our language. In the eyes of the curious they will possibly obtain an additional value, as being by some centuries the earliest translation extant of a classical author into any European language, and if the opinion of Hickes be well founded, nearly the earliest of Anglo-Saxon Poetry.

Further specimens of Alfred's Boethius may be found in the first volume of Hickes's Thesaurus, and in the second of Mr. Turner's Anglo-Saxon History. Nor is the edition of the whole work, published by Mr. Rawlinson at the latter end of the seventeenth century, a book of rare occurrence.

No. V.

NORMAN-SAXON

FRAGMENT ON DEATH.

THIS inedited fragment of Anglo-Saxon poetry occurs towards the conclusion of a manuscript volume of Homilies contained in the Bodleian Library, and supposed by Wanley (who notices it in his Catalogue affixed to Hickes's Thesaurus, page 15,) to have been written about the time of King Henry the Second.

This short composition appears to present a specimen, not altogether uninteresting, of our language and poetry, at the latest period at which they could fairly be denominated Saxon, and will therefore properly form the concluding article of this Appendix. Productions of this æra are not (either in print or in manuscript) of very frequent occurrence.

The metre in which this poem is written is evidently the alliterative one, universally adopted by the Anglo-Saxon writers of verse. Its rhythm appears, like that of its prototypes, to resemble the Trochaic or Dactylic measures of the Ancients, substituting however, as in all modern languages, emphasis in the place of quantity. It seems to me that it is inferior in regularity both of numbers and alliteration to the earlier specimens of Saxon poetry preserved to us by the labours of Hickes and Junius. This, among other reasons, would induce me to place the time of its composition lower than the æra of the Norman Conquest.

MS. Bodl. 343.

"Ðe wes bold ȝebyld	*Tibi fuit domus exstructa*
Er ðu iboren were;	*Priusquam natus es;*
Ðe wes mold imynt	*Tibi fuit tellus parata*
Er ðu of moder come.	*Priusquam e matre venisti.*
Ðe hit nes no idiht,	*Celsitudo non est constituta,*
Ne ðeo deopnes imeten;	*Neque altitudo mensurata;*
Nes til iloced,	*Non est obserata*
Hu lonȝ hit ðe were,	(*Quàm diu tibi fuerit*)
Nu me ðe brinȝæð	*Donec ego te feram*
Wer ðu beon scealt,	*Ubi manere debes,*
Nu me sceal ðe meten	*Donec ego te metiar,*
And ða mold seoðða:	*Et cubile terrenum.*
Ne bið no ðine hus	*Nequaquam est tua domus*
Healice itimbred,	*Altè ædificata,*
Hit bið unheh and lah;	*Est ea non alta ac humilis;*
Ðonne ðu bist ðerinne,	*Ubi es intùs,*
Ðe helewaȝes beoð laȝe,	*Spatium a calce humile est,*
Sidwaȝes unheȝe.	*A latere non altum.*

DEATH *speaks.*

FOR thee was a house built	Where thou shalt remain,
Ere thou wert born,	Untill I shall measure thee
For thee was a mould shapen	And the sod of earth.
Ere thou of (*thy*) mother camest.	Thy house is not
Its height is not determined,	Highly built (timbered),
Nor its depth measured,	It is unhigh and low;
Nor is it closed up	When thou art in it
(However long it may be)	The heel-ways are low,
Untill I thee bring	The side-ways unhigh.

Ðe rof biŏ ybild	*Fastigium est exstructum*
Ðeie brost full neh,	*Pectus tuum juxta,*
Swa ŏu scealt in mold	*Ita debes in terrâ*
Winnen ful cald,	*Habitare valde frigidè,*
Dimme and [1] deorcæ.	*Obscurâ et tenebrosâ.*
[1] Ðet clen fulæt on hod.	. . . . .
Dureleas is ŏæt hus,	*Januâ caret domus ea,*
And deorc hit is wiŏinnen;	*Et obscurum est intùs;*
Ðær ŏu bist fest bidyte,	*Illic es arctè detentus,*
And Dæŏ hefŏ ŏa cæȝe.	*Et Mors habet clavem.*
Laŏlic is ŏæt eorŏ hus,	*Odiosa est ea domus terrea,*
And ȝrim inne to wunien.	*Et tristis ad intùs habitandum.*
Ðer ŏu scealt wunien,	*Illic debes versari,*
And wurmes ŏe to-deleŏ.	*Et vermes partientur te.*
Ðus ŏu bist ileyd,	*Ita jaces,*
And ladæst ŏine fronden,	*Et linquis amicos tuos,*

The roof is built	There thou art fast detained,
Thy breast full nigh;	And Death holds the key.
So thou shalt in earth	Loathly is that earth-house,
Dwell full cold,	And grim to dwell in;
Dim, and dark.	There thou shalt dwell
That clean putrefies	And worms shall share thee.
Doorless is that house,	Thus thou art laid
And dark it is within;	And leavest thy friends;

[1] 'Deorcæ.' This word in writings of an earlier date is uniformly spelt 'deorc,' or 'deorce.' The substitution indeed of the *æ* for the quiescent *e*, appears not to have prevailed till after the Conquest. This will show that the copy of Cædmon's hymn given by Wanley (page 287 of his Catalogue) is not, as some have supposed, more pure in its orthography than those published in Hickes and in Alfred's Bede.

[2] Of the signification of the last two words in this line I am entirely ignorant.

Nefst ðu nenne freond	*Habes nullum amicum*
Ðe ðe wylle faren to,	*Qui te velit adire,*
Ðæt æfre wule lokien	*Qui unquam spectatum veniet*
Hu ðe ðæt hus ðe like,	*Quomodo tibi domus ea arrideat,*
Ðæt æfre undon	*Qui unquam reserare*
Ðe wule ða dure	*Tibi poterit januam*
And ðe æfter haten;	*Et te quærere;*
For sone ðu bist ladlic,	*Citò enim es odiosus,*
And lad to iseonne.	*Et teter ad inspiciendum.*

Thou hast no friend	For thee the door
That will come to thee,	And seek thee,
Who will ever inquire	For soon thou becomest loathly,
How that house liketh thee,	And hateful to look upon.
Who shall ever open	

END OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

Additional Notes to the Song of the Traveller.

**** The Editor is indebted for the following observations to Mr. Price, well known to the literary and antiquarian world from his excellent republication of Warton's History.*

P. 12. Breoca Brondingum.] A long account of this person is to be found in Beowulf, cantos viii. and ix. Mr. Turner considers the whole narration as referring to some piratical expeditions of Beowulf; but at that early period of Northern history such an occupation would have been as little disgraceful to the hero, as Thucydides chose to infer it had been in the days of Ulysses. It is rather a tale of rash and fool-hardy enterprize (dol gilpe), as Hunferth very properly terms it, and whose address to Beowulf makes express mention of Brecca's name:

Eart ðu se Beowulf
Se ðe wið Breccan wunne
On sidne sæ. P. 40. Ed. Thork.

The following passage will supply us with another name in the Traveller's Song:

Ða hine (sc. Brecca) on morgen tid Swæsne ꝏ (eðele)
On *Heaðo-Ræmis* Leof his leodum
Holm up æt bær Lond Brondinga.
Ðonon he sohte P. 41. Ed. Thork.

P. 13. Finfolc Walding.] Here we ought to read Fin Folcwalding; that is, Fin the son of Folc-wald, or, as he is called in Beowulf, Folcwalda p. 83. [See the additional notes to Beowulf, where he is traced as the great-grandfather

of Woden.—Ed.] The Traveller's Song has thrown considerable light on this obscure part of Beowulf.

P. 13. Hneaf Hocingum.] The same episode above alluded to contains the name of Hneaf, son of Hildeburh, and apparently married to Holinga, Hoce's daughter. The latter may be presumed to have given name to the Hocings.

Ibid. Wald Woingum.] Of the chief I have no recollection; but his people are noticed among the foes of the Weder-Geat, whose attacks might be expected after Beowulf's death.

Us wæs a syððan
Mere Wiohingas
Milts[e] ungyfeðe. P. 216. Ed. Thork.

Ibid. Sweom Ongendðeow.] Of Ongentheow king of the Sweos, a long and circumstantial account is given in the dirge over Beowulf's dead body. He was a prince of the Scylfing race, husband of Ela (Hrothgar's sister); and he fell by the hands of Wulf and Iofor in a battle against Higelac.

Ibid. Offa weold Ongle.] The wisdom and power of Offa are spoken of in the very obscure outline given of the early history of Higelac's queen[1],—Beowulf, p. 147. Ed. Thork.

P. 14. Hroðwulf and Hroðgar.] This passage, while it confirms the general

[1] The Editor ventures, with much diffidence, to dissent from Mr. Price (as well as from the Author of these Illustrations, and from Thorkelin) in the interpretation of the very obscure passage referred to; which does not appear to him to contain any statement that the daughter of Hæreth was married to Higelac, but rather that he had been himself placed under constraint by the violence of that virago. "He was," says the poet (if I interpret rightly), "wise and eminent, although he may indeed for a few years have endured under the shelter of his city the daughter of Hæreth."—"Wis welðungen . ðeah ðe wintra lyt . under burh locan . gebiden hæbbe . Hæreðes dohtor." During the wars which ensued after the slaughter of his elder by his second brother, this heroine may perhaps have taken arms, and acquired such an ascendancy as to drive him to immure himself in some strong hold, 'burh loca'. We are then told that she abused her power by her profusion and arrogance; and in the height of her pride would not permit any one so much as to gaze on her, but punished such temerity by instantly hewing the offender in pieces with her own hand and sword;—an accomplishment (as the bard remarks) "not altogether feminine nor becoming a damsel, however exquisite her charms might be." In order to tame these excesses, it was proposed that she should be married to some

accuracy of Hrothgar's history in Beowulf, throws some light on an obscure digression made by the hero in narrating his adventures to Higelac. But in the Traveller's Song we must consider "ingeldes" to be a proper name; as is clear from the context, and confirmed by the following passage in Beowulf:

. . . . ðan Ingelde
Wealla ð wælniðas. P. 155. Ed. Thork.

These are the only passages having a direct connexion with, or receiving illustration from, the narrative of Beowulf. But several of the remaining names are either the same with those occurring in the great Northern epic cyclus, or bear a strong resemblance to them; and it is by no means improbable that they have furnished the minstrels of a later time with appellations for their heroes: for nothing is more satisfactorily impressed upon my mind, than that the legal doctrine of uses, especially that part of it called "shifting uses," though only known in Westminster Hall within these few centuries, has been constantly acted upon in all traditionary matters. For when tradition made "a feoffment in fee" of certain marvellous deeds and attributes to any popular hero, it was always with a proviso "that the right and property therein should cease as to the said hero, and go over to a stranger," upon the said stranger becoming the favourite of the day. Hence the extraordinary fictions relative to Attila, Theoderic, and Ermanric, which, contradictory as they are to the real story of their reigns, still contain a certain admixture of well known circumstances. But to return.

The name of Ermanric is once incidentally mentioned in Beowulf, but it can hardly be in allusion to the Ermanric of the present poem.

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young champion; and she was accordingly (we are not informed how her own consent was obtained, which must apparently have been an achievement of some delicacy and difficulty) shipped off on a matrimonial voyage, by her father's advice, to the court of Offa, "where in the royal seat and in great prosperity she enjoyed every happiness of life, and was constant to the love of the ruler of men:" whence it appears that she was the wife of *Offa* and not of *Higelac*. From the remaining lines it should further seem that she became instrumental in increasing the power of the former monarch.

The poet rather hints at than states these circumstances, as being then familiar to the persons he addressed; and hence his brief allusions are almost unintelligible to us who are deprived of the clue which a knowledge of the story of Offa would supply. The references in the Traveller's Song and Beowulf indicate that it must once have been popular; and it may still perhaps be recovered, like the romance of Haveloke and the tales of Wade and his Boat.—Ed.

Nænigne ic under swegle	Brosinga-mene
Sælran hyrde	Sigle and sinc fæt
Hord-maðmum hælcða	[He ðurh] searo-niðas fealh
Syððan *Hama* atwæg	Eormenrices
To Here-byrhtan byrig	Geceas ecne ræd. p. 91-2. Ed. Thork.

I infer this for two reasons:—first, because the Brisinga-mene, the well-known attribute of the Northern Queen of Love (Freyia), could only have been bestowed upon a mortal hero in fictitious history; and secondly, the elder Ermanric, both in real and fabulous story, was wounded by, and was the destroyer of, a certain Ammo or Hamo. The death of Ermanric in the *Edda* and *Wilkina Saga* is obviously taken from the narrative of Jornandes, who states that the Gothic king, having caused a Roxolan woman named Sanielh (Svanhilda) to be torn in pieces by wild horses, as a punishment for the defection of her husband, he was attacked and sorely wounded by her brothers Sarus and Ammius (Saurli and Hamtheir, *Edda* and *Volsunga Saga*). A MS. of Jornandes, of the twelfth century (cited by Peringskiöld in his notes to *Cochlæi Vita Theoderici Regis*, p. 277), contains the following note at the close:—"*Cum Historiographus narret Ermanricum Gothorum regem, multis regibus dominantem, tempore Valentiniani et Valentis regnasse, et a duobus fratribus, Saro et Ammio, quos conjicimus eosdem esse qui vulgariter Sarello et Hamidiech dicuntur, vulneratum in primordio egressionis Hunnorum per Mœotidem paludem.*" In the fabulous narrative, Saurli, Hamtheir, and Svanhilda, are the children of Gudrunr, Sigurdr's widow, who we know was once the possessor of Andvar's ring; and if we are allowed to assume that Hama received the Brosinga-men from her, we should advance one step nearer in the resemblance between the Gothic and Grecian mythos, and have a perfect counterpart to the necklace of Eriphyle, both in the effects and origin of this mysterious ornament. When the Theban annals tell us that Cadmus and Hermione proceeded into Illyrium, and there became transformed into serpents, we have no difficulty in translating this into their apotheosis. But how did Hermione dispose of her necklace? *Nobis tota res meræ tenebræ, et felicioræm valem exspectamus.*

Bicca may have supplied the Volsunga Saga and Saxo with their insidious Bike. Gifica is obviously the Gibicus of the Burgundian Laws; the Gibicho of the Latin metrical romance *De primâ expeditione Attilæ*. The same fable may have borrowed its Hagene, who was sent by Gibicho as a hostage to Attila, from the Hagena-Holmricum of the Traveller's Song. It is a well-known name in the great Northern cyclus. Witta will recall the memory of Wittich, Weland's son; and Wada is the name of Weland's father. Accord-

ing to the Wilkina-Saga, Wade lived in Sealand, in which and the adjoining country the Helsings have left a record of their residence in Helsingborg, Helsingör, and Helsinge. Sigehere is obviously the Danish Siggeir; and Sceafa the same name with Scef the father of Scyld (Beowulf, p. 1.). The Wenla may be the Wendla-leod of Beowulf (p. 28), where we also find the Geftha:

Næs him æniz ðearf
Ðæt he to Gifðum
Oððe to Gar-Denum, &c. p. 186. Ed. Thork.

The Wineda are a Sclavonian race who succeeded the Wendla-leod in the occupation of "Wynt-land." Guth-here is the Gundicar of Prosper Aquitanus (p. 745), who fell in the contest against the Huns. The term in the text is no corruption, but a translation of the Burgundian name, and which in the Laws is written Gundaharius or Gunther. The story of Ealhhild is not clearly before us. It is evident that she visited Ermanric's court, and as the Traveller says that *he* was in Italy with Ælfwin the son of Edwin, who was therefore Ealhhild's brother, we may assume that their object was a matrimonial alliance. From the circumstance of her presenting the bard with a ring (for so I interpret the passage) at the same time that he received another from Ermanric, it may be presumed that she was married to this monarch. In the Wilkina-Saga we are told that Odilia was married to Sifka, Ermanric's chief counsellor, and that her chastity was violated by the Gothic king during her husband's absence. Has this been taken from Ealhhild's history, and was she married to one of Ermanric's courtiers? It is a little remarkable, that in the opening of the Traveller's Song Ermanric is called "a wrath-ful warlock." Still I incline to think that she was wedded to Ermanric. In Beowulf we have a Hethcyn (189). Sifecan is obviously the same name with Sifka. Gislhere occurs in the list of Burgundian kings recited in the Laws—Gislaharius; and, together with the other princes of his house, has been received into Sigfried's history. Wither-gield may be the same with the Withergyld of Beowulf (154); and Wudga and Hama may have furnished the old poem of Alpharts Tod with its Witige and Heime, the leaders of Ermanric's armies. But the names alone of many of these are given in the Traveller's Song; and to claim any identity of person from such premises, would be to adopt the rationale of Fluellin.

In a few instances I should feel disposed to offer a different version from the late Mr. Conybeare; but these are of no great moment. In two or three

passages the text is rendered obscure by an inaccurate disposition of the words. Thus in the early part we ought to read—

P. 11.	He mid Ealh-hilde,	He with Ealhilde[1],
	Fælre freoðu-webban,	The faithful lovely dame[2],
	Forman siðe	In his first journey
	Hreð cyninges, &c.	[Sought the home of] the haughty king.

In the following passage the sense is not perfectly intelligible to me, unless we accept Wala as a proper name:

Ibid.	Ðara wæs Wala,	Of them was Wala,
	Hwile selast,	Whilom the most prosperous,
	And Alexandreas	And Alexander
	Ealra ricost.	The most wealthy of all.

Indeed, from the further mention of Cæsar's (*i. e.* the Roman Emperor) holding rule over Wala-rice, I should conceive it an allusion to the first founder of the Gualic dynasty. In the earlier periods of history this country extended from Walland—the country of the Walloons—to the Pyrenees. Hence the Teutonic adjective 'Waelsch' or 'Walish,' *Welch*, &c.

The following arrangement will restore the alliteration, which is not preserved in the present text.

P. 18.	Ðonn ic be songe	Then in my song
	Secgan sceolde,	I should say,
	Hwær is under swegle	Where is under this heaven
	Selast ðisse	The most generous
	Gold hrodene cwen	Queen adorned with gold
	Giefe bryttian,	To distribute her gifts,
	Ðonn wit scilling	When we two
	Sciran reorde	To share her fee by our eloquence
	For uncrum sige-dryhtne	Before the illustrious lord of us both
	Song ahofan.	Raised our song.

The sense would also be improved by reading 'ham' for 'ðam' a few lines above; as we have in Beowulf

Ibid.	Ða' ic to ham bicwom.	When I had come home.

[1] The Editor is responsible for these translations.

[2] 'Freoðu-webbe,' or 'freoðu-webba,' which also occurs in Beowulf (p. 148. Ed. Thork.), is clearly from the context a poetical expression for 'woman.' Possibly, from its derivation, it may mean "the weaver of love."—Ed.

In the lines,

P. 19.	Emercan sohte ic and Fridlan	I sought Emerca and Fridla
	And East Gotan,	And the Eastern Goth,
	Frodne and ȝodne,	Wise and good,
	Fæder unwenes—	The father of Unwen—

there appears to be an omission; unless 'frodne and ȝodne' refer to Fridla, which would be a most unusual construction. At all events I should take 'unwenes' to be a proper name (Unwin?), as I suspect to be the case with 'hreada' (Qy. Hread-Gotan?), and more strongly so with 'Wistla' (Qy. Vistula?), in the following passage:

P. 20.	Ðonne *hreada* here,	Then the host of the Hreada,
	Heardum sweordum,	With their hard swords,
	Ymb wistla-wudu	At the wood of Wistla
	Werȝan sceoldon	Should defend
	Ealdre eðel-stol	With their life their country
	Ætlan leodum.	Against the people of Ætla.

The passage immediately following I would arrange thus:

Ibid.	Ðealhte ic hy a nihst (?)	Them in the next place in my thought
	Nemnan sceolde.	I should ever record.
	Ful oft of ðam heape	Full oft from that band
	Hwynende fleaȝ	In the conflict flew
	Giellende ȝar	The sounding dart
	On ȝrome ðeode.	Against the fierce host.

For 'leoht et (?) lifsomod,' *read* 'leoht and lif somod,' *i.e. light and life at once.*

Additional Note by the Editor on the Historical Traditions preserved in the Poem of BEOWULF, *and the Age in which the Action of that Poem is placed.*

THE historical allusions contained in the episodical parts of this poem are so many, so minute, and so consistent with each other and with the notices contained in the Song of the Traveller,—an independent document,—that it seems impossible to dismiss them as mere fictions of imagination. Indeed,

the mode of allusion which refers to them with brevity as well known events, and the circumstance that they are never introduced as subservient to any purpose connected with the main action and narrative of the poem, militates altogether against such a supposition.

It is true, indeed, that the narrative is mingled with much of romantic fiction: but a very short period, especially in barbarous ages, suffices to permit the introduction of ornaments, as they were esteemed, of this nature. The adventures of our Richard Cœur de Lion we know to have been thus embellished or disguised by the minstrels of the age immediately succeeding his own. The Homeric writings afford a case exactly parallel. Neither the supernatural machinery of the Iliad, nor all the *speciosa miracula* of the Odyssey, prevent the critical inquirer from receiving as generally authentic, the historical and geographical notices scattered through these poems; and the scepticism of Bryant has found but few partisans.

Yet it is obvious that the attempt of Thorkelin to conciliate these notices with the later traditions of Danish story preserved by Saxo Grammaticus, resting on the most forced conjectures, and supported only by the most arbitrary mutilation of the names of the sovereigns and heroes mentioned, is altogether unworthy of attention.

While these pages are passing through the press, an observation has occurred to the present Editor which appears to throw some additional light on the period to which tradition assigned the events recorded in the poem; and this must evidently be a material step towards clearing up their true historical relations.

It may be remembered that Hrothgar, the king of the Danes, whose deliverance from the fiendish enmity of the Grendel by Beowulf forms its primary subject, is said (canto xvi.) to have been engaged, together with his father Healfdene, in war against the Frisians, then subject to Fin the son of Folcwald. Now the same names, in the same succession, may be found in one of the genealogies of Woden, the common ancestor of the monarchs of the Heptarchy, or rather Octarchy, established in this island; and in such a position that, counting backwards from Hengist, and allowing about thirty years for a generation, we shall be led to fix his æra, and consequently that of the contemporary chieftains commemorated in our poem, between 150 and 200 years after Christ.

The genealogy alluded to is that given in the Chronicle commonly ascribed to Nennius, but in truth, according to the earliest and best MS. lately discovered in the Vatican and edited by Mr. Gunn, compiled by Mark the Hermit in the tenth century.

It must be stated, however, that in the place of Folcwald, all the MSS. of

the Saxon Chronicle (which repeats the genealogy more than once), and the parallel or derivative authorities of Asser, Florence of Worcester, Matthew of Westminster, &c., uniformly substitute 'Godwulf.' The line as given by these authorities respectively is here subjoined.

Nennius (*Gunn's Ed.*).	*Nennius* (*Gale's Ed.*).	*Saxon Chronicle.*
Geta	Geata	Geata
Foleguald *or* Folcwald [1]	Folepald (Folcwald)	Godwulf
Finn	*Fuin* (*Finn*)	*Fin*
Fredulf	Fredulf	Friðowulf
Frealof	Frealf	Freoðolaf
Vuodén	Vuoden	Woden
Guechta	Guecta	Wecta
Guicta	Guzta	Witta
Guictzlis	Guitzils	Wihtgils
Hors Henezest.	Hors Henzist.	Henzest Horsa.

Are we to suppose, then, that Folcwald and Godwulf were different names for the same individual? or rather to conjecture that the transcriber of Nennius was led into accidental error from the common principle of association, as being familiar, from the traditions above alluded to, with the name of Fin Folcwalding?

Some of the earlier members of this genealogy coincide with the Danish kings mentioned in the introductory lines which precede the first canto of Beowulf (see the note subjoined to this article).

In the hope that it may lead some one more familiar than myself with the earlier Scandinavian traditions to prosecute an inquiry, in itself certainly interesting, I am induced to subjoin the following synoptical view of the principal geographical and historical allusions in Beowulf, digested under the several tribes to which they relate. Many of them are completely disguised in the edition of Thorkelin.

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[1] Gale's edition of Nennius (c. 28. p. 105) reads 'Fuin and Folepald,' which, from the similarity of *p* and *w* (p) in MSS. of the Saxon period,—a source of corruption which has frequently affected the text of Gale,—is probably a misprint for Folcwald; the *e* and *c* being constantly interchanged by errors of transcription. A MS. of this Chronicle in possession of the present Editor, and apparently of the fourteenth century, reads 'Finn and Folowald.' From the collation of these various readings no doubt can remain that Folcwald is the name intended.

1. Geatas, supposed by Thorkelin to have inhabited Pomerania and Rugen; called also Wederas, Weder-geatas, and Sæ-geatas. Cities mentioned as belonging to them, are Rafnsholt or Rafnwudu, and Beowulfsburg.

The Scylfings were the royal tribe. These are also mentioned in the prose Edda, where they are derived from king Skelfr, and in Snorro.

Their kings enumerated in this poem are

Hrethel.

Heribald, killed by his brother Hæthcyn.	Hæthcyn the fratricide, killed in war with the Sueones under Ongentheow and Ohthere.	Higelac | Hearede.

On the death of Higelac and his son Hearede in battle, Beowulf the hero of the poem succeded to the vacant throne. Beowulf was in turn succeded by Wiglaf, son of Wihtstan.

2. Dene [Danes], also named Deningas. The subdivisions North Dene, East Dene, Suth Dene, West Dene, and Gar Dene, all appear to constitute one people, the subjects of Hrothgar, and not independent tribes as Thorkelin supposes.

Their country was two days' voyage from that of the Geatas.

Heort and Byrhtanburg, or Here-byrhtanburg, are named as their cities.

The Scyldings were the royal race, derived from Skiold, who occurs in all the traditional histories of Denmark.

The kings enumerated in the poem are

Scef.
|
Scyld.
|
Beowulf senior.
|
Healfdene, engaged in war with Fin and his Frisians.

Heorogar.	Hrothgar, married to Wealthowa.		Halgatil.	Ela a daughter married to Ongentheow of Sweoland.
	Hrethric.	Hrothmund.		

3. Sweos or Sueones, apparently the same with the Sueones of Tacitus, a kindred race with the Geatas, but independent, and sometimes engaged in hostilities against them.

The Scylfings (as among the Geatas) appear to have been the royal race.

Kings mentioned:

Ongentheow, married to Hrothgar's sister Ela, killed in a war against the Geatas under Higelac.
|
Ohthere.

The Frisians and the Sueones appear to have been usually allied in war.

4. Fresnas (Frisians).

Kings mentioned:

Folcwald.
|
Fin, married to Hildeburh, engaged in war with the Danes under Healfdene and Hrothgar.
|
Hnæf, killed in the Danish war, married to Holinga daughter of Hoce.

5. The Brondings are mentioned apparently as having been opposed to Beowulf in an expedition, wherein he encountered their king Breoca, the son of Beanstanc, at Heatho-ræmis; but the passage is very obscure.

Incidental allusions also occur to the following tribes:

6. The Wælsings (Volsungr of the Edda), and the hero Sigmund (Sigurdr Fafnrsbana).

7. The Wylfingi (the Ylfings of Hrolf Krakas Saga).

8. The Franes.

9. The Wioings.

If there be sufficient ground for referring these traditions to the second century, the period in which they were originally compiled, considering the nature of the details to which they extend, and the abrupt brevity of the allusions to them as to well known historical facts, must assuredly have been anterior to the invasion of Hengist and Horsa in the fifth century; and the materials, therefore, from which the poem of Beowulf was afterwards composed, may have been imported in their train in the form of those heroical songs which

we learn from Jornandes and other writers formed a favourite amusement among the Gothic tribes. And that the Anglo-Saxons must have had poetry at this early period is a necessary corollary from the history of their metrical system, which, as being common to themselves and their kindred tribes on the continent, must have existed at an æra anterior to their emigration. It is impossible to contrast the historical notices of Beowulf with the later traditions embodied by Saxo Grammaticus without being at once struck with their superior claim to be considered as genuine records of ancient story.

*** The succession of three kings of the Dene or Danes in the above tables,—viz. Scef, Scyld, and Beowulf,—presents a near resemblance the seventh, eighth and ninth names in the following genealogy of the ancestors of Ethelwulf, as given in the Saxon Chronicle (An. 854) and William of Malmesbury.

1. Sceaf.
2. Bedwig.
3. Hwala.
4. Hathra.
5. Hermon.
6. Heremod.
7. [*Sceaf*, mentioned only by William of Malmesbury.]
8. *Sceldwa* or *Sceldius*.
9. *Beaw* or *Beowius*:—[for Beowulf?—So Cutha and Cuthwulf are
10. Tætwa. indifferently read in the genealogies: com-
11. Geata. &c. pare An. 495 and 854.]

For the remainder of the genealogy, see above, p. 283.

William of Malmesbury relates the following story of the exposure of Sceaf (the seventh in this list) in a boat when an infant:—"*Iste ut quidam ferunt in quandam insulam Germaniæ Scandzam (de quâ Jornandes historiographus Gothorum loquitur) appulsus navi sine remige puerulus, posito ad caput frumenti manipulo, dormiens, ideoque Sceaf est nuncupatus; ab hominibus regionis illius pro miraculo exceptus et sedulo nutritus, adultâ ætate regnavit in oppido quod tunc Slaswic nunc vero Haitheby appellatur. Est autem regio illa Anglia Vetus dicta, unde Angli venerunt in Brittaniam, inter Saxones et Gothos constituta.*"—(Gul. Malms. *De Gestis Regum Anglia*, lib. i. in Vitâ Ethelwulfi.) The elder Sceaf who stands at the head of this pedigree is said to have been a son of Noah, born in the ark. This is apparently the addition of some monastic writer, originating in a confusion of the two Sceafs, and a misapprehension of the tale concerning the exposure of the second of that name in a boat or ark.

Mr. Price, to whom the Editor is indebted for the substance of this note, is of opinion that this exposure of the infant Sceaf is alluded to in the very obscure Introduction to Beowulf, but there attributed to his son Scyld.

THE END.

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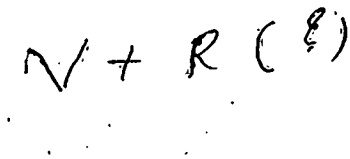

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